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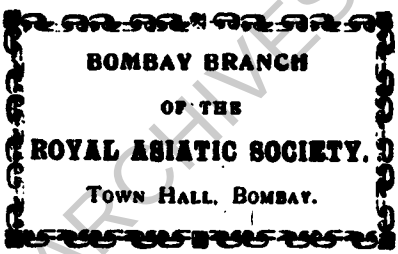

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THE
PARSIS IN INDIA

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VICTORIA THE GOOD

The Times Press.

The Great Queen of England and Empress of India, under whose sovereignty the Parsis attained the zenith of their prosperity and freedom,—religious, social and educational.

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THE
PARSIS IN INDIA

BEING

AN ENLARGED & COPIOUSLY ANNOTATED,

UP TO DATE

ENGLISH EDITION

OF

MLLE. DELPHINE MENANT'S

LES PARSIS

37118

BY

M. M. MURZBAN

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, (ENGLAND),
ADVOCATE OF THE HIGH COURT OF BOMBAY:
OFFICIER d'ACADEMIE: (FRANCE.)

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VOL. I.

CH. I.—THE EXODUS CH. II.—ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA
CH. III.—POPULATION

WITH 55 HALF-TONE PORTRAITS & ILLUSTRATIONS.

1917 A.D.

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PRESS OPINIONS

EXTRACTS FROM *The Times of India*, (BOMBAY).

(For the editorial, *in extenso*, see end of Vol. I.)

"...Ignorant of Guzerati the author [Mlle. Menant], but for the cordial collaboration of Mr. M. M. Murzban, Barrister-at-Law, ...would have found it very difficult successfully to complete the work, which is really, to borrow her own words, *une œrrede bonne foi*...What Dubois has done for the Hindus, and the translator of *Quanoon-ē Islam* for the Mahomedans, our author does here for the Parsees;...We have nothing but praise for the conscientious care and accuracy of the writer, for the sympathy unconsciously shown on every page for members of an alien race..."

Note—For extracts from the *Jamé Jamshed*, daily Gujarati Parsi newspaper of Bombay, see Vol. II.

EXTRACT FROM *The Indian Spectator*, (BOMBAY.)

(*23rd January, 1898.*)

"...Mr. M. M. Murzban...has largely helped Mlle. D. Menant with materials for her forthcoming History of the Parsis (in French), and with very useful advice from time to time. This French History, it may be added *en passant*, is on a different plan from that of Mr. Dossabhai Framji's valuable and comprehensive volumes. Mlle. Menant's work is intended more for scholarly and critical purposes...."

PRINTED AT THE MODERN PRINTING WORKS, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS, AND PUBLISHED BY THE EDITOR, M. M. MURZBAN, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, IN THE FORT, BOMBAY.

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FOREWORD

The preparation of this English edition has, for the past several years, been a work after my own heart, even at considerable sacrifice of time, health, and professional work. For all these years I have laboured to collect and utilize materials in such a manner as may meet a desideratum which I long felt to be needful after *Les Parsis* was published by Mlle. Delphine Menant. In this period I do not include the time I devoted to collaboration, with the authoress, in her preparation of *Les Parsis*, in the 'Introduction' to which, for an acknowledgment of my humble services I feel extremely grateful.

The information embodied in the French edition appeared to me sufficient to meet the requirements of foreign readers in general, *i.e.*, of readers in Europe and America. Atleast in my judgment, this information is, by no means, such as to satisfy that class of Parsis—and others—who may be desirous of being put in possession of *details*, to enable them to make themselves acquainted with more than what has been an every-day knowledge of Parsis. Many and many a Parsi, I know, will welcome a new presentation of matters that were already familiar to them —as it has welcomed my instalments of the English translation with its many elucidating supplementary notes, which were appearing, week by week, in an extensively circulated daily Parsi newspaper of Bombay. I therefore undertook a task on the lines now adopted in this *English* edition of *Les Parsis*. In doing so, I have sought—while presenting an approximately literal translation—kindly revised by Mr Pestanji D. Khandàlàvàlà, a linguist and scholar of very high attainments—to subject it to a critical examination and elucidation of many subjects and many points, with the aid of such treatises, brochures, lectures, notes, etc., as I have been able to secure. All these do not appear to have been within the reach of the French authoress, mostly on account of their non-accessibility, particularly due to many of them being in the Gujarati language, and some of them

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having been published after *Les Parsis* was brought out. I feel sure Mlle. D. Menant will now be able to utilize them in any new edition she may bring out of her *Les Parsis*, if she is desirous of extending the scope of her original plan.

To globe-trotters, and to general foreign readers, this English edition may prove a work too full of details. I admit that the details—inserted by me in between what Mlle. Menant has stated in the French text and its footnotes—may, at times, seem somewhat extensive and more abundant than usually is the case with a short history of a community. But it should be borne in mind that the *English* edition is not intended for the use of globe-trotters only, or of such readers as are in search of an epitôme of a narrative relating to Parsis, their manners, customs, etc.—past and present. To these, and to others who cannot bear the strain of continuous reading of the English edition, and to such readers as are not interested in these details, as embodied in the various paragraphs placed by me in the text, in my numerous footnotes and in my appendixes affixed at the end of each chapter: and in anticipation of criticisms by those who may review the English edition for the information of general readers,—to all these, I would suggest that they should exercise the art of skipping, while perusing the various chapters with their footnotes and appendixes, as prepared by me. To enable readers of the English edition to do so, I have invariably adopted the arrangement of placing between parallel brackets all what I have inserted, both in the text and in the footnotes—which invariably bear my initials. (Footnotes which do not bear my or any other initials must be taken as those that have appeared in the French edition.) This arrangement has obliged me to sprinkle a host of personal pronouns over all that I have inserted in the pages of the English edition. I would further suggest, that, after reading merely the text and smaller footnotes —either my own or those of the French edition—the general reader may then peruse the longer footnotes, and thereby, at places, he can enjoy a "comfortable forty winks,"—to borrow an expression of that well-known *savant* and traveller, Professor Williams Jackson of the Columbia University,—and "awaken refreshed to resume his interest at a point where the specialist may begin to nod."

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The appendixes throughout are all my own, and I am responsible for whatever appears in them. There are no appendixes in the French edition.

While the pages of *Les Parsis* were being printed in Paris, the authoress Mlle. Menant used to transmit to me the same, from time to time, bearing on them her manuscript notes, for my information, that, if need be, I might insert further items of information in my English edition. And also in her correspondence with me—extending over a considerable period—she made it a condition that all such notes as I may insert should bear my initials. How far I have scrupulously respected her wishes, in this regard, readers will be able to judge for themselves. I would have preferred to place my own additions,—in the text,—in smaller types, to distinguish them from Mlle. Menant's text, but that would have caused some strain on the reader's eyes.

Before the first—and, upto date, the only—edition of *Les Parsis* was published (in 1898 A.D.), Mlle. Menant had not been in India, and among Parsis as a community. She visited India in April 1901. Therefore, the common ground,—which can be gained only by a personal knowledge of the environment and by a perception of the atmosphere surrounding the Parsis in their everyday life, manners, and customs,—must necessarily be considered wanting in *Les Parsis*, not losing sight of what has already been noted above, *viz.*, her inability to have access to all the materials in the Gujarati language, which it has been my good fortune, as a Parsi, to avail myself of. The Parsis gave up Persian, their mother-tongue, and adopted Gujarati as their language when they settled in the province of Gujarat—whether it was on their migration from the Persian island of Ormuz or after travelling down from northern or any other part of India, I shall not tarry here to discuss.

As Augustine Birrell has said somewhere: "An historian stands in a fiduciary position towards his readers, and if he withholds from them important facts likely to influence their judgment, he is guilty of fraud, and, when justice is done in this world, will be condemned to refund all moneys he has made by

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his false professions, with compound interest." This sort of fraud, as Birrell says, is unknown to the law, but to no-body else!

These volumes may be commended to the notice of readers who are glad to get their facts therefrom, but prefer to draw their own inferences. As to taking a critical review of the progress made by Parsis—a review such as would indicate the bright and the shady side of the present, every-day, social, religious, political, and intellectual life which the Parsis are living—my own humble opinion is: such a function cannot possibly be discharged to the satisfaction of all concerned, *i.e.*, of persons with conservative and liberal tendences. After all, what any one—however learned—can write must appear to be his own personal opinion. What may be, today, a seemingly just review of any criticisms on the progress which Parsis may have made, may hereafter—in another generation to come—appear to be an overdone picture, or a picture drawn with a biassed or narrōw-minded pen. It must, therefore, be left to the strong guiding commonsense of able readers to judge for themselves how far Parsis have progressed in the right direction. The materials, furnished in the English edition, will, I hope, prove more than sufficient for this purpose. Therein we have tried to give mere photographs, so to say, and not paint pictures. However, in a prefatory 'N o t e' to each volume I have placed some few notes of my own, which may be perused for what they are worth.

As is sometimes done in some books of history, no attempt has been made to duplicate the parts of Cassandra and Job's old friend Eliphaz. Such a combination is as unattractive as it is unusual, according to the rules of the historian. As the writer of the Introduction to the splendidly illustrated volumes of the *History of the Nations*—by a brother-member of the English Bar—has observed, to arrive at the truth we must cultivate a sense of proportion, view men and movements in perspective, and single out what has been of real value to the progress of the Parsi community from that which is less important, even if more picturesque. This has been the aim of Mlle. Menant—and has also been my own—throughout these various chapters. I have devoted more space to the pioneers of every movement—social, educational, religious, and political—than their successors would wish that I had done for the latter.

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Speaking generally, I can say this much: that there have been in the past, and even at the present day, advocates of great reforms among Parsis, but I have noticed that one had not to wait for a generation to succeed them, in order to be able to see, and say, what fruits are being borne through these stupendous changes—eh even in the life-time of these very advocates. Some of them have exclaimed that the "headlong speed" and the "indiscriminate manner" with which Parsis are advancing in matters relating to their social, religious, and political life—that this speed and this manner of their advance were simultaneously introducing an element of great danger and of menace to the future well-being of the Parsi community. However, I can only hope and trust—in the words of a well-known writer—that "The upward sweep of civilization is not unlike the rising of the incoming tide. It advances and recedes, but each advance carries humanity to a higher altitude than it had reached before." Every progress for good carries with it the liability to certain defects. The broad way of looking at a question of this kind is to see whether the progress for good outweighs the defects.

As a very acute Parsi wrote only a few months ago, "Parsis held their own so long as other communities were backward in education. First in the field to adapt themselves to the new conditions which were ushered in with the advent of British rule in India, and first to reap the harvest of the new culture and civilization which it brought in, they came off easy best among these communities who, comparatively, were less responsive to the calls of progress and education. A few years hence they [the Parsis] would find themselves on an equal footing with other communities."

Cannot a community which has—in a very short space of time—accomplished all that the pages of *The Parsis in India* record, still accomplish much more? Provided that the present position etc. of the community is maintained without deterioration, and not get emasculated by prosperity or debauched by the wide gulf that has, of recent years, opened up—particularly over the *Juddin* controversy of admitting aliens, not into the Zoroastrian faith, but into the Parsi community—it is difficult to see that it may not confidently aspire to a still higher predominence

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in India, the land of their adoption. We none of us can predict with certainty what lies in the womb of futurity. Was it not the pseudonymous George Eliot who wrote that, of all forms of error, prophecy is the most gratuitous? The trend of still later events gives one the hope that the crisis—which lately loomed so large over the community—will be tided over. What I am alluding to will be made clearer in my own 'Note' to each volume of the English edition, as what I may write here, before the reader has well grasped the contents of each chapter, may read somewhat unconnected. But I will, in this place, say this much that in these days of highly advanced education and social and religious reforms, amateur advocates of further reforms appear to me somewhat lacking in the foresight which was carefully exercised by the revered reformers of the type of Dadabhai Naoroji—referred to, for the first time, in Chapter V. on "Usages,"—and K.R. Cama. In the present generation, the hustling—not the genuine—reformer, paying scant regard to the conditions obtaining in the various circles of the Parsi communities of India, is doing more harm than good. By not hastening slowly he sets up the back of the orthodox—who really were the reformers of the past generation—and goads it into a stubborn retrogression, signs of which have not been wanting within the last ten years. All the same, to the orthodox, I must address myself and say that we must not stupify ourselves with the soporific that we—Parsis—have done all, all, in matters relating to our social and religious well-being. To both sides I would commend a perusal of the 'fable of the shield,' in the opening part of Ch. XV. of Samuel Laing's *A Modern Zoroastrian*. Both sides are prone to see only their side of a question. It shall not be the spirit in which we should let ourselves rest on our oars, with the laurels that have hitherto been won in the battles which our fore-fathers—immediately preceding the present generation—so strenuously fought for our social and religious upheaval. But on the subject of the latter, I shall have more to say in my Note to Vol. II., in which one of the subjects dealt with is that of "Fêtes" or religious and social festivals, and also in my Supplementary Chapter on the Religious Literature of Parsis.

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As it was evident that the expense of publishing this English edition—with its numerous portraits and other illustrations placed therein by me—would not enable me to place its volumes within an easy reach of all classes of the Parsi communities of India, I deemed it advisable to first publish it, in instalments, in a Parsi daily newspaper, with a daily circulation of not less than four to five thousand copies. I did this at my own expense, the figure for which has nearly been one thousand rupees,—not taking into consideration the cost incurred in translating into English the Chapters IV., *et seq.* In the same journal *Les Parsis* had been previously published in the Gujarati language. I therefore hope the authoress of *Les Parsis* will kindly over-look the delay in publishing its English edition in book-form,—delay caused by my above-mentioned efforts and ambition to extensively popularize her work among the English and Gujarati-reading Parsi public. Since the publication in the above referred to journal her name has become a household word in all circles of my co-religionists in India. French is yet so little read and understood by Parsis in general, although a good number of them—men and women—are now-a-days taking French as their 'second language' in connection with their University curriculum, but thereafter a majority of them neglect to keep up their studies in that sweet language.

As to the portraits and other illustrations placed in the English edition, they greatly exceed in number those that find place in *Les Parsis*. I have prepared and placed in each volume a list of these, from which the reader will at once ascertain the source, that is, which of them have been in *Les Paris* and which ones have been inserted by me in the *English* edition.

A general and comprehensive Index for all the volumes of the English edition will be found at the end of the last volume. For the convenience of readers, I have placed an Index also at the end of each volume, excepting Vols. I. and II., for which one Index will be found at the end of Vol. II.

The List of Contents, placed in the opening part of each volume of the English edition, has been prepared by me. Neither an Index nor a List of Contents is given in the French edition.

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In my 'Note' prefixed to each volume I have, in some cases, endeavoured to indicate, by comparison, the extent of my own additions in the text and in the footnotes. But the matter printed within parallel brackets [...] is all my own, whether it bears my initials or not.

I have departed from the time-honoured practice of placing appendixes at the end of a book. Just as the 'appendix'—of the now fashionable 'appendicitis'!—has been considered useless by the medical profession, an 'Appendix' to a book is—more often than not—looked upon as an useless appendage. Therefore it is that all my appendixes, in the English edition, have been placed immediately at the end of the chapter to which they relate; so that the reader, soon after perusing a chapter, may know and learn what follows it by way of supplementary information appertaining to that chapter. In some cases very long footnotes also have been relegated to these appendixes.

The one volume of the French edition has been divided by me into several handy volumes for the English edition, even though it has entailed extra expense for their covers.

I have constantly, and without consideration as to time and labour spent, consulted the works of fellow-labourers in the field, and have been careful, throughout these volumes, to cite my authorities and sources for every special piece of information. I have unstintedly acknowledged, in appropriate places, the able assistance rendered to me by many friends well-versed in their own line of literary attainments. I will not therefore make any invidious distinction by mentioning any of them here by name. For those who have passed away since the English edition was published in instalments—in a daily journal—I can now only express my gratitude. As to authors, lecturers, and others, from whose books and lectures I have so copiously excerpted what has appeared to me to be useful and instructive information, the pleasant duty of expressing my indebtedness I gratefully perform in this place.

I will now conclude on a personal note. As hinted in the opening part of this Foreword, I have bestowed much labour of love and spent many an anxious year on this undertaking,

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and I can only express the hope that it will be generously appreciated by all in whose hands these volumes happen to be placed—either of the general public or of the Press of India and elsewhere.

A descriptive list of all the chapters contained in the English edition will be found on the following page.

M. M. MURZBAN

"GULESTAN,"

Esplanade, Fort, Bombay.

26th December, 1916.

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DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF CHAPTERS

CONTAINED IN THE ENGLISH EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION (IN *Les Parsis.*)

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Chap. II.—The Zoroastrians in Persia

Chap. III.—Population

Chap. IV.—Costumes

Chap. V.—Usages

Chap. VI.—Fêtes

Chap. VII.—Birth

Chap. VIII.—Investiture

Chap. IX.—Marriage

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Chap. XII.—D a k h m a (='Towers of Silence')

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Chap. XV.—Education:

i.—Education of Men

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Chap. XIX.—Religious Literature: (a Supplementary Chapter, by the Editor of the English Edition.)

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VOLUME I.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISH EDITION.

A special but melancholy interest attaches to this Volume I. The three chapters contained therein have been translated by Miss Ratanbai Ardesir Framji Vakil, a 'Bachelor of Arts' of the University of Bombay. While the pages of *Les Parsis* were passing through the press in Paris, Mlle. Menant—as stated in my "Foreword"—used to transmit them to me, and Miss Ratanbai very kindly undertook to translate them into English. The lady was able to translate only upto the end of chapter the third, when her brief but happy career was closed somewhat suddenly. She passed away in 1895 at the early age of twenty-six, and her memory I have deemed it to be my duty to preserve by publishing her translation of the first-three chapters which make up this first volume. The subsequent chapters—with the author's Preface and the Introduction—have been translated by the Rev. J. Wastie Green, M.A., of Cambridge, Senior Classical Master in Trinity College, Glenalmond, and late Warden of Victoria College, B.C., and some-time Governor to His Highness the Crown Prince of Siam. I hope those who are in a position to judge of the translation will find it satisfactorily done. Those whose knowledge of English and French may be limited will not—I hope—attempt to sit in judgement over this great and arduous undertaking of Miss Vakil and Rev. Wastie Green.

Volume I. of the English edition comprises chapters on, I.—The exodus of Parsis from Persia to India: II.—Zoroastrians in Persia, that is, the history of the remnants left in Persia after the alleged exodus: III.—Population. Properly speaking, next after chapter the third, should have followed, in the same volume I., the three subsequent chapters on Usages, Costumes, and Fêtes, as all these six chapters give a more or less complete and comprehensive idea in re the Parsis in India, in so far as what the six chapters treat of. But, as the work of printing progressed, I found that,—with the use of antique paper,—to embody all the first-six chapters in one volume

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with the numerous Plates inserted by me, would make it somewhat unwieldy. I have therefore placed Chapters IV. Usages, V.—Costumes, and VI.—Fêtes, in volume the second, and have affixed to it a very extensive Index of Names and Subjects, comprised in the first-two volumes. In *Les Parsis* 68 pages are devoted to Chapters I. to III., whereas, in the English edition they occupy 284 pages. The size of the page and of the types of the text and footnotes of the French edition is approximately the same as that of the English edition. So that, the reader will at once see how much must have been added by me, in the text and in the footnotes, for the purposes of giving an "enlarged and copiously annotated upto-date English edition," as announced on the titlepages of these volumes. There is only one portrait in Chapters I., II., and III., of *Les Parsis*, whereas the number of those placed therein by me has run upto fifty.

Chapter I deals with the alleged exodus of Zoroastrians from Persia to India. For a long series of years—in fact of generations—this exodus has been ascribed to the persecution of the followers of Zarathushtra—'Zoroaster' of the Romans and the Greeks—by the foreigners who overran Irân (modern Persia). But latterly some writers—especially Parsi-writers—have begun to question this "theory of persecution" and the exodus to Gujarat by sea. In an appendix at the end of the second chapter I have placed a brief note, drawn up for me, by Mr Gustad K. Nariman, a linguist and scholar, who therein seems to argue that there was indeed no such persecution—he means soon after the foreigners overran Persia—and he gives his reasons and authorities. Since his contribution was printed on pp. 155 to 159 Mr Nariman has delivered two lectures on the subject and has indited an article, elsewhere, headed " A religious charter granted by Moslem-rulers to Persian-Zoroastrians." In it I find the following passage: " It appears that during the course of the many centuries of horrid persecution to which the Zoroastrians were subjected, the latter had often recourse to documents . . . . which alone procured them the benefit of doubt and stood between themselves and their total extinction. For, it may be noted that, when I have laid stress on the entire absence of religious persecution on the part of the Arabs *I have confined myself to the first opening*

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centuries of Islam, and my remarks do not apply at all to the subsequent ages during which it would be a cruel calumny to deny that the Zoroastrians were not ruthlessly and inhumanly persecuted by their own brethern." The italics are my own. Even Mr G. K. Nariman therefore admits that there was persecution indeed at some period or other of foreigners overrunning Persia. So that, between the hammer of scepticism and the anvil of tradition, the question of the 'Sanjan Memorial Column' has come to be threshed out by two opposing parties. No doubt, it will be some generations more before we can sift the wheat of truth from the chaff of tradition. Parsis must therefore continue to confine themselves to what has as yet remained to them a "mere tradition," without dwelling on mere hope. However, tradition must be respected for the present, and so has Mlle. Menant done; and the entire fabric of her chapter on the exodus of Parsis, from Persia to India, appears to have been based on that tradition. If once this tradition is proved, beyond doubt, to have been altogether ill-founded, then with this fabric must go all that is believed to be its resultant circumstance —the exodus by sea of the Zoroastrians and their landing at Div, and later on at Sanjan. If there has been no persecution at all, at any period, in Iran—which even Mr Nariman is not prepared to assert—then there could be no exodus—argue the iconoclasts of the persecution-theory. And they then query: Why need there have been any exodus from Persia if no persecution took place? Again, if this fabric of persecution, and its consequent exodus, is demolished, then must arise the most important questions: Whence came the Parsis to Div, and to Sanjan, or even to south-western India? Did they settle there straight from Iran? Or did they gradually migrate southward from some parts, in India, where they may have settled from early ages? Probably, if not possibly, the recent excavations near Pataliputra,—*i.e.*, modern Patna—(see pp. 36, 37 and 353, *post*, for my notes thereon)—may hereafter help us in finding a solution of these vexed questions of "persecution" and "exodus." If after the last vestige of a Persian domination in India, the Persian-Zoroastrians altogether disappeared from India, then arises the question: What period of time lapsed

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between this total disappearance and the traditional landing at Div and Sanjan, or the known existence of Parsis on the south-western coast of India, *i.e.*, in Gujarat? Close scrutiny and comparison of reliable dates, to be yet ascertained for all these events, may possibly lead to a solution, or at least to some clue to a partial solution. It is, again, suggested that, though there may have been Persian-Zoroastrians settled in the northern and other parts of India, in early times—earlier than the exodus to Div—yet it is not improbable that the refugees, from Iran to Div, came out in total ignorance of any colony of their co-religionists being in existence in the aforesaid parts. It is also suggested that in those parts from which the refugees arrived from Iran to Div there must have been a persecution so unbearable as to drive them to a refuge in ships to set to sail for some other country, and Providence brought them to the shores of India. There is one very striking statement, however, in one of the *Rivāyats*—written communications from Persia to the Zoroastrians of Gujarat—which, to my mind atleast, needs careful scrutiny and attention. That statement is made in a message—in one of these *Revāyats*—from the Zoroastrians of Irán to the Parsis of India, that until the arrival of one of the Parsis from India to Iran—for obtaining this particular *Révāyat*—the remnants of the Zoroastrians in Persia did not know that there were any of their co-religionists in India, *i.e.* in Gujarat. The question—which, I must admit, tells in favour of the iconoclasts—that arises here is: if there was exodus, one or more, by sea from Irán to India, however long prior to this *Révāyat* it may have been, how comes it that the Zoroastrians who transmitted that *Révāyat* had not heard from their fore-fathers that there had been this exodus of some of the Zoroastrians from the island of Hormuz to India? Is it possible to believe that these ancestors—however far from Hormuz they may have been living—were, for ages past, in crass ignorance of such an exodus? These are the *pros and cons* that suggest themselves to my humble mind. Mlle. Menant has therefore based her chapter on "exodus" on what is but a tradition embodied in the *Kissè-i Sanjàn* penned ever so many generations after the said exodus. Nowhere does she say that she has penned that

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chapter on any other than this material. This brings me to the question of the "Sanjan Memorial Column"—referred to in my foot-note 74 A on p. 88, *post*. The opponents of this Memorial say that it cannot be raised to perpetuate the memory of what is but a mere tradition. But—may I venture to inquire—cannot the memory of even a "tradition" be perpetuated? Must there be only a historical fact to entitle Parsis to erect this Memorial Column? If Firdusi had waited for historical facts, he would not have ever written his great epic—the *Shâh Nâmah*—and this memorial-column (the epic) would not have been handed down to us to perpetuate the memory of the glorious past of Persia. If tradition is not to be respected at all, how comes it that Parsis observe the passing of Zoroaster on a day which only tradition has fixed? Tradition has always a considerable basis of substantial truth. (In saying so, I have not overlooked what has recently been ascribed to Gautama Buddha, as saying that tradition must not be relied upon!!) When a well-known Parsi educationist, in a tone of sarcasm, writes: "In the ardent zeal to compass something grand [*i.e.* the Sanjân Memorial Column] it is forgotten that historical research has not established yet that these fugitives, driven from home and hearth, first landed at Sanjân,"—the question arises, has any attempt at all been made all these years to make any "historical research"? Has it not been admitted, by tradition even, that it was at Div—and not at Sanjân—that the Iranian refugees first landed? The object of placing the Memorial Column in Sanjan, and not in Div, appears to be to facilitate a yearly pilgrimage, as the site of the Column is very close to the railway-station.

But the *Iranian Association* has recently narrowed the grounds of opposition. This Association is now gradually taking the place of the now nearly defunct *Râhnumâe Mâzdayasnan Sabhâ*. A few days prior to the 10th of December 1916—the day on which a large concourse of about five thousand Parsis, and almost all the Dasturs (High Priests), from Bombay and the province of Gujarat, met to celebrate a *Jashn* ceremony of thanksgiving for completion of twelve centuries after the traditional landing at Sanjan,—this Association indited a letter of protest to the Honorary Secretary of the Sanjan Memorial Column Committee.

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This protest is evidently not against the erection of the Column but against the inscription on the Tablet, to be affixed to the Column, a part of which says that the Iranian ancestors of the Parsis of India had "landed at the once famous port of Sanjân and settled under the protection of its kind Hindu Ruler Jádi Ráná." The points raised in this protest are important and well-worth consideration. Before my footnote 74 A was printed on p. 88 of Vol. I. the Honorary Secretary of the Memorial Column Committee, in reply to an inquiry, informed me that the text of the inscription had not been settled. I deem it but right that I should—in the words, as closely as possible, of the protest—set forth its main grounds: (1) The story given in the *Kissah-i Sanjan* is related by *mobed* Bahman Kaikobád, an inhabitant of Navsari, as it was orally told to him by a Dastur and other elders, in or about the Yezdegardi year 969 (A. D. 1600), that is to say, more than 800 years after the supposed immigration into Sanjân to which the story refers. There is no convincing evidence to show that "the author is indebted for his materials to an older account" in writing. He distinctly says that he had heard the account from a wise Dastur. "He (the Dastur) told me this narrative from old traditions. . . . I repeat the story from his words." (2) It is impossible that oral tradition can be expected to preserve, with any degree of accuracy or truthfulness, an account of events that occurred more than 800 years ago. (3) There is no mention of an independent Kingdom of Sanjân or of a King called Jádi Ràná in any authentic history of Gujerat. (4) There is no mention, in any history of Sultan Mahmud Begada, of the conquest by him of an important and flourishing port of the name of Sanjan, (5) Masudi in his history, written in Hejeira 332 (A. D. 943), mentions that there was a large Zoroastrian population in Hind, Sind and China as well as in Persia. (6) There is evidence to show that in the year 324 Yezdegardi, or about A. D. 955, there were a flourishing maktab [=seminary] and fire-temple in Broach. This shows that from the early centuries of the Yezdegardi era there was a considerable population of Parsis in Broach, and not merely after A. D. 1090, as the *Kissh-i-Sanjan* states. (7) In A. D. 1185 a copy of the Vendidad was brought from Seistan to Ucch in Sind, where there was a population of Zoroastrians. [For this town and its Parsi

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population and other details see p. 54 of Ch. I., *post.*] This manuscript was subsequently brought into Gujerat and transcribed there. It is probable that after the destruction of Ucch in A. D. 1223 the Parsis of Ucch migrated southwards towards Gujerat. (8) In the first and second centuries of the Yezdegardi era, when the *Kissah-i-Sanjân* states that ancestors of the Parsis were on their way to India by sea from the island of Ormuz, there were frequent attacks led by Arabs from the sea upon Sind and Gujerat. These attacks continued from A.D. 631 to 776 and render it improbable that any considerable body of Parsis could have migrated to India by sea during the first two centuries after the fall of the Persian Empire. The land-route from Seistan viâ Beluchistan and Sind was safer and more convenient, as there were Zoroastrian settlements along the route, and it is probable that large numbers of Zoroastrians migrated in course of time, though not necessarily in the first two centuries of the Yezdegardi era, by the land-route to India. (9) When a reference was made by the Zoroastrians of Navsari, Surat, Anklesar, Broach and Khambat to the high-priests of Persia on certain religious questions in A.D. 1478, they were told by the high-priests to send two able priests to Iran by the land-route to learn Pahlavi. The route from Kandahar to Seistan they described as short, and from Seistan to Yezd as quite safe. It would seem from this that the land route from India to Persia was well known to Parsis, and often used. (10) The recent archæological discoveries of Dr Spooner in Northern India show that migrations of the Zoroastrian Magi from Persia into India date from remote antiquity and establish the fact of frequent communications between the two countries which no doubt continued after the fall of the Persian Empire. (11) In Ousley's *Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, who flourished probably between A. D. 902 and 968, the following occurs: "Now we shall lay before the reader a map of these parts of "Hind and Sind, and describe the curious and extraordinary "places of them. Some parts belong to Guebres, (that is, Persian Zoroastrians), and a greater portion of this country to Kafirs (Infidels) and idolators." This authority would point to the fact of a large Zoroastrian population in Sind in the tenth century. (12) What little has come to light renders it probable that the bulk of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia came to India by

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way of Beluchistan, Punjab, and Sind, rather than by sea, and that they gradually gravitated to Gujerat and the ports of the western coast for purposes chiefly of trade. It is not impossible, of course, that some emigrants from Persia might have come to India by the sea-route. The above are the twelve main grounds of opposition. Without any desire to assume the facile rôle of the critic, I may say that I entirely agree with the Committee of the *Iranian Association* that the Tablet in question should bear no reference to the traditional statement of the *Kissah-i Sanjân* as an accepted historical fact.

Chapter II. deals with the subject of the "Zoroastrians in Persia"—that is the remnants of the vast population of the Persian empire founded by the followers of Zarathushtra. In this second Chapter, I have placed a good deal of additional information based on the narratives of more modern European travellers, as it gives the reader a connected idea of the condition of these unfortunate Zoroastrians from period to period—down to the latest date. I have attempted to make this chapter a bit less unattractive by placing a large number of portraits and illustrations of sorts. From beginning to end this chapter is a melancholy reading.

Chapter III. "Population."—I should have preferred to see the subjects-matter of this chapter written in several sub-chapters. It is a comprehensive one, and, among other subjects, its outstanding features are:—Statistics of Parsi population: the once all absorbing and vexed—rather too terribly vexed—question of the *Kabisa*, the intercalation: the question of Parsis and the Indian Army Volunteering: the alleged 'fire-worship' by Parsis. To each of these subjects I have contributed considerably, both in the text and in footnotes. I have placed, in an appendix, a large number of Census Tables. In the text and footnotes I have dealt, in greater detail, with the *Kabisa* (intercalation) question and its off-shoot—rather the off-spring of K.R. Cama's fertile and ingenious brain—the *Fasli* (seasonal) year controversy. Mlle. Menant has handled these two cognate subjects more from point of view and requirements of foreign readers only. Parsis, and even European *savants*, would like to have more than the brief retrospect the authoress has given.

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And I have therefore ventured to place what I have deemed necessary for the information of others than general foreign readers. As to the early *Kabisa* controversy, it has to be noted how Parsis of that period mixed up religion with the non-religious aspect of the controversy. Had they, and their priests, the education they have since received—mostly through the remarkable exertions of K. R. Cama and his colleagues—they would have been saved the bitterness and the blood-shed, and the schisms, the history of all which is recorded in this Chapter III. Next to this *Kabisa* controversy is that of the *juddins* (aliens) being admitted into the Parsi community on their receiving the baptism of the Zoroastrian faith. Here, again, Parsis fell into a similar error, and the question of religion was mixed up with that of utility. But as I have dealt with this *juddin* controversy at some length in a later volume, I shall postpone my review of it till we come to Chapter VIII. on "Investiture" with the sacred insignia of the *Sudrah* and the *Kusti*.

As to the question of Parsis enlisting in the Army and as Volunteers, I have placed a succinct history of Parsis' connection with European Volunteering in India, incidentally indicating their enrolment in England. In connection with this subject I may transcribe here what a leading daily English newspaper of Asia, *The Times of India*, (Bombay), says on 11th September 1916, in regard to the Parsis and their share in the War now waging in several parts of the world: "During the war the patriotism of the community has been at high tide. Men and women, young and old, are doing their best to relieve the sufferings of the soldiers who are fighting for the King-Emperor and his Allies. The Parsi Ambulance Brigade has distinguished itself by hard and meritorious work. The Parsi Volunteers and doctors who have gone to the front have proved true to their salt. It was very gratifying to the community that a grandson of the 'Grand Old Man of India,' Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, particularly distinguished himself by a brave deed on the battle-field." I may add here the name of Dorabji Sorabji Kavasji Adenvàlà, who was enrolled as a Member of the Hon'ble Artillery Company (of London.) He was wounded, in the battle-field, in France, in the latter part of 1916. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Charles Munro, addressed the

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following words—in November 1916—to the officers and members of the Parsi Division of the St. John Ambulance Corps: 'I have heard much about your excellent work. You have been rendering splendid help to the poor and the weak, and I hope you will continue to co-operate further." Of this Division I have made mention in a later volume.

Much as Parsis would wish to be enrolled in the regular army as soldiers, my own opinion is, that, considering the extreme smallness of their number, the limited Parsi community, —however much its patriotism and duty towards their Sovereign demand that they should enlist,—cannot afford to deplete its manhood by enlisting in the regular Army of this country of their adoption. A few may join as officers—commissioned and non-commissioned. Anyway, it is their duty to continue to be enrolled as Volunteers.

As to 'fireworship'—the bug-bear of Christian missionaries of days gone by, with their superficial knowledge of the tenets of Zoroastrianism—I have enlarged upon the subject in some detail in the text, and at the end of Chapter III. will be found placed by me a reprint of the views and opinions of others than Parsis on this subject of the alleged worship by Parsis, of fire, sun, etc. —in fact of nature-worship. The latest—and learned—contribution which came too late for insertion in that appendix, is from the Rev. Dr Hope Moulton. In his discourse, in 1916, before a Parsi audience in Bombay, on the subject of the "Doctrine of God"—the Parsis' Ahura Mazda, the 'Wise Lord'—he said: "Before I leave the thought of 'Asha,'—(no one English word will fully express this great idea, of *Asha*, we use 'Right', 'Truth,' 'Righteousness,' and might some times use 'Order,' says Dr Moulton),—I would recall the very ancient association of it with the sacred symbol Fire. Multitudes who know nothing else about you, know that you are "fire-worshippers," and I have denied the statement, with all heartiness, scores of times. I have declared that fire is, with you, the outward and visible symbol of the Divine. And what could be more suitable than that which can never be polluted,—as earth, or water, or air,—with the germs of foul disease, or with anything else that is unclean,—the great

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purifier of Nature's system, the indispensable necessity of human life? No Christian who remembers his own Scriptures can cavil at such symbolism as this. It is only important to remember that all symbols tend—especially with uneducated people—to usurp what belongs only to the higher reality behind. There may be some ignorant Parsis for whom the Fire really is a god and not a symbol. If there are, you [Parsis] who know better will count it a privilege to enlighten them. . . . ." I might just as well complete my said appendix with the following words of this sympathetic *savant* in his discourse, on the "Doctrine of Evil"—also delivered before a Parsi audience: "Let me illustrate this working of ideals of God by a specific point that will appeal to you. Our Aryan fore-fathers worshipped the Sun, among other powers of nature. By "worship" I mean, not simply reverence for what is very sacred, a symbol of Deity so splendid that man bows his head before a glory that calls the thought of God overwhelmingly into the mind and heart. In that sense you yourselves are Sun-worshippers, and I have a strong fellow-feeling with you....."

In Appendix IV. (to the third chapter) I have placed several Tables of censuses of the Parsi population, in addition to what finds place in *Les Parsis*. The last Table J., (extending over pp. 278 to 284), is of special interest, and will enable the reader to see to what parts of India Parsis have now spread. Recently I had occasion to peruse a Parsi New Year's Number of the *Hindi Graphic*, a monthly Anglo-Gujarati Journal,—conducted single-handed by a Parsi spinster—and I noticed in it a contribution, on the "Future of the Parsi Youth," by a young but accute Parsi writer. His words therein: "I would advise Parsis to spread out. There are more Parsis in Bombay than any-where in India,"—these words remind me to draw the reader's attention—and particularly the Parsi reader's attention—to the above-mentioned Table J. This Table gives one a very clear and comprehensive view as to how really "there are more Parsis in Bombay than anywhere else," and how few there are in out-lying adjacent or distant parts of India.

Anticipating the statistics—placed in Vol. III.—of births and deaths among Parsis within the municipal limits of the

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town and island of Bombay, I may state that, from the year 1872 to 1915 A.D. (inclusive), there were 56,334 births and 60,024 deaths (including 3,239 still-born). So that, in the space of forty-four years, there have been 3,690 more deaths than births. If the number of 3,239 still-born be excluded from computation, the total number of deaths exceeds that of births by 451, that is, 10. 25 per year on an average. It should, however, be borne in mind that, during the last few years, the ravage by plague has carried off a large number of Parsis. But for this abnormal destruction of life, the Parsi population would, on the whole, have increased in number, *i.e.* less deaths than births.

Germane to the subject of Parsi Population is one regarding the many Charitable Institutions and Funds that have been established for the benefit of the community—and even some for non-Parsis. I have placed, in Appendix II. to the second chapter, an almost complete descriptive list of these Institutions and Funds, in Bombay. Piqued even though I may have been with a bit of pride—but certainly not of vanity—I have placed, in this Appendix, figures from the year 1861 to 1915 A. D., to indicate how much the community has individually given out, from year to year, by way of charity, endowments etc., on occasions of joy and grief.

A glance at the List of Portraits and other Illustrations placed in Volumes I. and II., will initiate the reader into a knowledge of their number, variety, and source. As to these in this Volume I. —and even in regard to those placed in all other subsequent volumes —Parsi-readers must not forget that these volumes are intended for the perusal of foreign-readers also, and therefore, though with many of them, Parsis may be familiar as an every-day sight, to foreign-readers these portraits and illustrations must indeed prove interesting and even instructive. I venture to say that even to Parsis of the present generation some portraits and illustrations—*e.g.*, those relating to costumes —must prove of some interest. The camera has therefore been laid under contribution as an adjunct, as now-a-days it also plays the part of a truthful historian. Some of the half-tone blocks had to be made from photographs taken as far back as fifty to seventy years, or from some prints, and therefore it was not possible to give a

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better facsimile of them by this process. To those who have rendered me help in the collection of photos., paintings, and drawings, I must here tender my grateful thanks,—to Parsi ladies in particular who have so kindly accorded to me their permission in connection with Vol. II. Hutchinson's profusely illustrated *History of the Nations*, in four volumes, has been drawn upon for some of the half-tone illustrations, and to its editor and publishers I offer my apologies and grateful thanks, The half-tone blocks placed in Vols. I. and II. have been executed partly by the *Times* Press of Bombay and partly by Indian artists. The printing therefrom has also been done partly by the *Times* Press and partly by the 'Bombay Art Printing Works,' owned by a Hindu artist. The obliging proprietor of The Modern Printing Works, of Madras, has enabled me to present the first-two volumes in a way which, I hope, will find favour with the reader. The selection of expensive antique—and therefore 'feather-weight'—paper, available in the market in these days of a world-wide European War, has somewhat enhanced the cost of printing the text, as has been the case with the rich and only available art-paper used, by the two printing presses, for the half-tone blocks.

M. M. MURZBAN

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"	31	*Histoir edes*	... *Histoiredes*
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52	28	noted	... noticed
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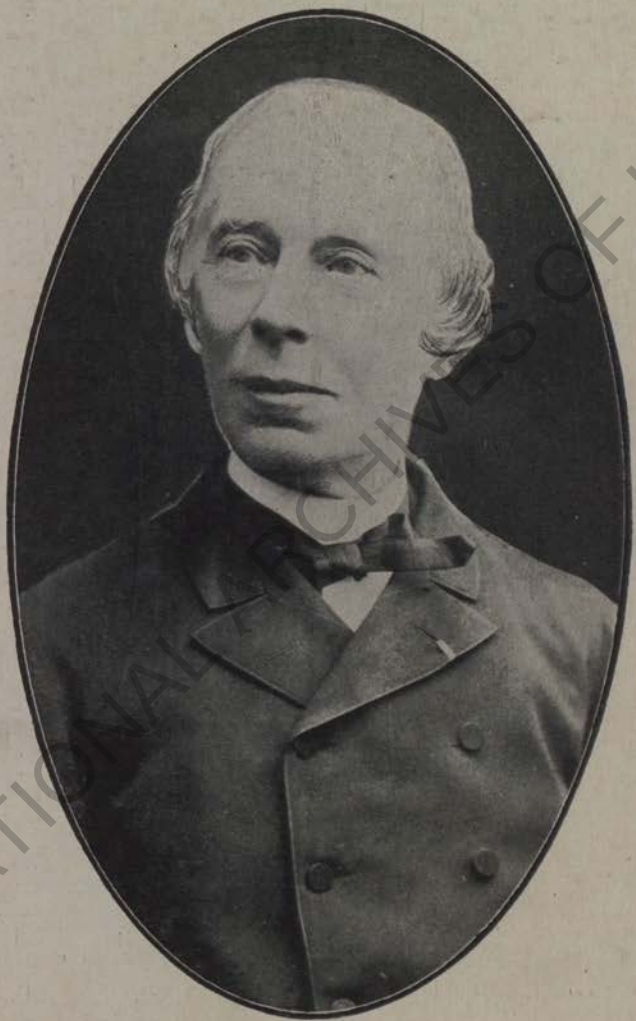
Les Parsis

has been

dedicated

to



Monsieur Joachim Menant,

Membre de l'Institut,

the revered father of the French authoress.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PREFACE
(IN LES PARSIS.)

To-day the author presents to the public the first part of her work on the Zoroastrian Communities of India.

This first part comprises the chapters devoted to the civil life of the Parsis, following the individual through all the phases of life, from birth to death alike, under the customs described by old travellers, and the changes of the present century.

The growth of education has been most carefully studied. It is through this, and its entirely westerly bent, that the Parsis have reached their unique position in India. The author trusts that in Chapters [XVI, XVII, and XVIII] she has clearly exhibited the internal development which, after eleven centuries of isolation, has brought the community into the full swim of modern life, in commerce, literature, and politics, in which they have attained incontestable predominance.

The second part (to appear later) will be confined to a treatise on the religious duties of the Parsi, together with a number of documents* from official sources, dealing with the Temples and the Cult.*

A succinct account, too, will be submitted of the labours of scholars on the religion of the ancient Persians, but dwelling chiefly on the present state of Parsi-ism, the latter period of contemporary expansion in the great Zoroastrian conception, which, born and nourished in Iran, is still to-day proving its vitality on a foreign shore in spite of the restricted number of its disciples.*

*As a sequel, to this second part, will appear the Appendixes with the necessary explanations, and an analytical Table.**

PARIS: *1st Dec. 1897.* D. MENANT.

* [These have not been published up to the date of the *English* edition going to press.—M. M. M.]

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INTRODUCTION

(IN LES PARSIS.)

The battle of Néhavend had put an end to the dynasty of the Sassanides. All was over with the Persian Empire! King Yezdezerd had been assassinated at Merv, where he had found refuge (650), and the Mussalman conquest had been consummated with extraordinary rapidity. Within a century after these events, the entire nation had embraced Islam, with the exception of a small number of Zoroastrians who, rejecting conversion, withdrew to the parts about Khorasan, where, for nearly a hundred years, they were able to devote themselves to their cult without molestation. Finding this asylum insecure, they at length succeeded in reaching Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and there made a short sojourn until fresh persecutions decided them to seek hospitality of the Hindus. They set sail for Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay, whence again, after a residence of twenty years, they set out in quest of new pastures. After consulting their priests they again took ship, but, their little fleet being assailed by a storm, they appealed, at the point of death, to the God of their fathers, vowing—should they land safe and sound on an Indian coast—to kindle the sacred flame, and build a shrine for its shelter. The tempest abating, they succeeded (716) in landing at Sanjan, twenty miles to the south of Daman. At the present time, Sanjan, a small village in Thana, (according to Edrissi),—was, at that period, a populous trading town. Here, the fugitives settled, and, being well received by the reigning prince, the sagacious Jade Rana, they sealed a compact with him, which is preserved to us in the form of distiches or

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Shlokas. They made no attempt to disguise their creed, avowed themselves worshippers of Ahura-Mazda, repudiated neither the *Sudra* nor the *Kusti,* the true badges of the Zoroastrian, and professed their reverence for Fire. For the rest, they made every concession calculated to win the good-will of the Rana. Thus, they pledged themselves to speak the language of the country, their men not to bear arms, their women to assume the Hindu costume. These obligations were strictly fulfilled for ages, and, thanks to the tolerance and kind reception by the Hindu prince, the Persians at last enjoyed a little peace and tranquillity. Sanjan became their principal residence. Here they built their promised shrine, and, from that date (721) the Zoroastrian rites have been celebrated on Indian soil.

It is probable this wave of emigration was followed by others. There is evidence sufficient to warrant the belief that there were Persian Colonies in some parts of Northern India; but these have so completely vanished that it would be fruitless to look for traces of them.* It was that of Sanjan which successfully withstood all surrounding influences, and gave rise to the band of 89,904 Zoroastrians whom we now find spread over India, and whose history we propose, if possible, to retrace.

The Mussulman conquest of Gujarat produced great consternation among the refugees. They fought, indeed out of gratitude, for the Hindu princes who had received them, and one of their chiefs died in the defence of Sanjan. But, little by little, they adapted themselves to their new masters, and, under the Mussulman sway, they record but one martyr.

* [To the good fortune of the Parsis, and through the liberal pecuniary contributions of Mr Ratan Jamshedji Tata, Dr Spooner, of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, has been recently able to find some "traces," in the year 1915. These will be referred to, by me, in its proper place in the course of the chapter to which this subject relates.—M. M. M.]

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Thrown together with the Banians, whose outward dress they adopted, they formed simply a new caste in the midst of the numberless family-divisions of India. European travellers met them, at first, as humble agriculturists settled along the borders of Gujarat, next as united and flourishing communities in Surat and Bombay. While their brethren in Persia were enduring all the rigours of the Mussulman conquest, and branded by their conquerors with the epithet of *Guebre*,—infidels,—we shall find the emigrants to India preserving, in their name at least, a reminder of their origin: the Portuguese calling them *Parseos* or *Perseos*: the English, *Parsees* or *Parsis*: the French *Parses*. We shall find one writer quoting their strange funeral customs, another their reverence for Fire, and the scrupulous care with which they guarded their religious traditions. We shall find them physically distinguished from Hindus and Mussulmans by their taller stature and their lighter complexion, which rather resembles the Spanish, and their women appreciated for their fairness and beauty.

There was one specially solemn hour in the history of the Parsis,—the hour in which they revived their connection with their brethren who had remained in Persia. At the end of the 15th century, Changa Asa, a rich and pious Zoroastrian of Nausari, sent, at his own charge, a learned layman, Nariman Hoshang, to obtain, from the Iranian clergy, enlightenment on certain important religious questions. The meeting was a joyful one on both sides. The *Guebres* of Persia had, for ages, yearned "to know if any of their people yet existed on the other side of the world."

Under Akbar, the Parsis began to step out of their obscurity. One of them visited Delhi, and, from being chief to the great Emperor, became a rich landed proprietor. But, it is from the arrival of the European that their ascendancy began. The Portuguese, the Dutch,

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and the English alike found, in them, valuable auxiliaries. Free from the prejudices of the high castes, the Parsis were ready to rub shoulders with the new-comers, and never had our commercial houses better agents. At Surat, where they had settled since the 15th century, they rapidly mastered an exceptional position. Later on, in Bombay, their influence grew apace with the English occupation, and their prospects followed those of the town, to the prosperity of which they contributed by their commercial and industrial spirit.

As brokers to the Europeans, they gradually ousted the Banians, adroit and obliging as these were. At first, as agriculturists, then as weavers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, and ship-builders, the Parsis found themselves drawn towards commerce. Hardier than the Hindu, they made bold to cross the seas and open new markets in the far East. At the same time, they began to extend to the English that loyal and steadfast co-operation which has established such joint responsibility between them. Thus, as early as 1660, from the Great Mogul, they secured, for the United East India Company, the privilege of founding a factory in Surat, and, in 1760,—thanks to a Parsi,—the custody of the Fort of Surat was handed over to the President of the East India Company.

In the 17th century, a Parsi had already been to Europe. In the 18th century, Burke entertained another at Beaconsfield; and, from that time, intercourse has been uninterrupted, and is ever-increasing and frequent. Meanwhile, in Surat and in Bombay, the condition of the community had gone on flourishing. The Parsis were noted, at the beginning of the century, for the noble use of their wealth. They nourished thousands of the indigent during periods of famine. Towers of silence, fire-temples, *dharamsalas*, charitable institutions, hospitals, and colleges were built by their care and their bounty.

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Their charity was proverbial, and they succoured the unfortunate, without distinction of race, caste, or religion. One of these merchant-princes, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, celebrated throughout India for his beneficence, was honoured with a Knighthood in 1842, and was subsequently created a Baronet in 1857. This was the first, of the natives of India, on whom such distinctions were conferred,—a fit reward, in the person of one individual, for a long course of good services rendered to the English Government!

Commerce, however, had not engrossed all the energies and ardour of the Parsis. Earlier than their fellow-countrymen, they grasped the advantages of western education and sought to benefit by it. At the very time, a section, attracted by the name of Europe, openly broke away from the Hindus and renounced the customs they had till then followed with so much docility. The Parsis soon asserted a superiority which enabled them, then, to take precedence over other communities on the great question of social and political reform, until they became qualified for the highest appointments, and, ultimately, even for a seat in Parliament.

In these few pages we have covered eleven centuries. During that period, what generations of humble and submissively resigned folk succeeded one another in a rural life, or in the thankless work of European counting-houses, engrossed in one idea,—the preservation of their faith! What piety and virtue must have been necessary to keep themselves unsullied and intact among the strange peoples by whom they were surrounded! Yet, this integrity, at first sight so impossible to preserve, found it easier to make itself respected than might be imagined in a country like India, where the system of caste repels foreigners and forces them, by their isolation, to draw together.

Again, judicial procedure, which in modern society levels rank and class, scarcely affected the Parsis,—if at all,—under the kindly, albeit autocratic, sway of the

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Nawabs of Surat. The priests preserved their powers in all religious matters. Punishment for the repression of crimes remained in the hands of the Assembly of the Punchayet, a body constituted on Hindu principles. Caste-exclusion was the most formidable penalty: capital offences alone were reserved for the consideration and decision of the Nawab. Beyond this, travellers agree that disputes were rarely brought before local tribunals. Justice was administered amid respectful silence: while,—thanks to the high morals of the Zoroastrians,—occasion rarely arose for the execution of that justice. With the masterful influence of Europeans, and the success of the Parsis in securing exceptional rights in the matters of Succession and Marriage, based on their own religious code, the Punchayet vanished.

The Parsis, then, are a people neither without a history nor without a historian. In the 19th century, Mr Bomanji Byramji Patel determined to summarize the records of his community, and succeeded in presenting, in his *Parsi Prakash*, chronological notes of important events dating from the migration from Iran down to the year 1860 (1258 of the Era of Yezdejerd.)*

In his Preface [to Vol. I] the author, with singular modesty, disclaims all pretensions to originality, declaring that he has merely marshalled materials for the use of any one designing a systematic history of his community. Every one of the thousand and fifty-two pages of this collection [in Vol. I] bears testimony to scrupulous care in the choice of documents,

* [After Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel's demise, on 9th September, 1908, his sister, Miss Dinbai, completed the labours of her brother, and has brought out Vol. II. chronicling the events from the year 1860 to 1880. In accordance with the testamentary wishes of her brother, the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds took over all the papers of Khan Bahadur Patel, and entrusted the work of continuing the chronicles to Mr Rustam B. Paymaster, B. A., LL. B., who has now in hand the third volume, and he has already published, upto the begining of the year 1916, five parts (from the year 1881 down to the year 1894.)—M. M. M.]

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and to the patient and laborious researches required for this compilation. From the 8th to the 17th century there is a great paucity of precise documents. The only ones we have are due to Behman Kaikobad, a priest of Naosari, who, in the year 1600, had collected the scattered traditions, and committed to Persian verse the memoirs of the Exodus from Persia and the settlement in India. Next come, as a valuable source of information, the *Rivayats*, or correspondence between the *Guebres* of Persia and the Parsis of Gujarat; then, the archives of the sacerdotal families of Naosari, Ankleshwar, Broach, and Surat. Mr B. B. Patel has drawn equally upon the inscriptions of the *Dokhmas* and of the Fire-temples, the manuscripts of old libraries, and on books published in Europe,—nay, even on mere brochures, pamphlets, and newspaper articles.

If ever a work were one to be candidly trusted, it is this. In the labour, care, and method of its classification it would do credit to the most industrious and learned of the *School of Charts*. The *Parsi Prakash* has but one defect: it is written in Gujarati, which leaves it inaccessible to all who do not know that language.*

The Parsis, once embarked upon modern life, had, however, the extreme advantage of making themselves known in ways other than the more or less trustworthy tales of old travellers. They were equal to the occasion. This was felt by Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka. In 1858, he published, in English, a little volume of 286 pages introductory to the manners and customs of his co-religionists, and it was much appreciated. In 1884, he produced a second edition, in two fine volumes, wherein he, on this occasion, laid the treasures of the *Parsi Prakash* freely under contribution.

* [I have since rendered into English the more material portions of the Chronicles, embodied in the first and second volumes of Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel's *Parsi Prakash*, in accordance with his heart-felt wish, expressed to me, to see his labour of love transmuted into the English language.—M. M. M.]

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Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C. S. I.

(See page 8)

Khan Bahadur

Bomanji Byramji Patel

(See page 7)

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

(Photo in 1897)

(See page 17)

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Here, it seemed, was an opportunity of presenting French readers with a history of the Parsis by taking advantage of the information supplied from such assured sources, and in this we were encouraged by motives of scientific interest and personal sympathy. One must not forget that both the Parsis of India and their brethren at home (in Iran) are not only the remnants of one of the greatest nations of the East, but that they are the trustees of one of the loftiest creeds of antiquity. This rôle seems, so to speak, to explain their long survival, for they have never filled any other. Here, too, was a chance of examining the process of the evolution which withdrew them from Eastern civilization, and urged them towards the West, without any consequent renunciation of creed or tradition. Possessed of a wonderful assimilative power, they made light of Hindu customs, as, long before, they had sacrificed their Iranian habits at the pleasure of the Rana of Sanjan. But, Mazdayesnans and Zoroastrians they remained. Their profession of faith has not changed. Lawyer, Engineer, Sheriff, Member of the Viceroy's Council, or Member of the House of Commons,—every man preserves intact his belief in the revelation of Zoroaster, and his reverence for his Holy Scriptures. Loyalty, then, to a cult which counts but a few hundred thousands of disciples is not, as is generally supposed, the peculiarity of a single race or a single elect people. In this sense, the history of the Parsis, *quâ* a religious community, may take a place in the Annals of the Guimet Museum beside the translation of the *Avesta* published by the lamented James Darmsteter. Indeed, what would remain of the sacred books of Iran, had not the fugitives from Iran carried away their fragmentary remains? Hence, the propriety of looking at this History from a two-fold view-point and of studying simultaneously their social and their religious life, inseparable as these are among the Parsis.

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Long chapters have been devoted to the explanation of modern customs in comparison with those with which old travellers, especially Anquetil Duperron, have made us acquainted. For, if our distinguished *savant* marked an era in Iranian studies, he also fixed a date in the period of Zoroastrian society by his *Treatise on the Civil and Religious Habits of the Parsis* [in the French language]. It is interesting to note, nearly a century and a half later, the persistency of some of those which govern funerals, and are of a religious nature, and the abandonment of those of a merely Hindu origin. In marriage, for instance, the Mazdien ritual is simple, consisting in a benediction,—the *Ashirvad*,—which contains the sacramental words binding the contracting parties (the husband and wife). The procession, the fêtes, the ceremonial details, such as the *purdah*, the twist-thread [wound round the necks of the bride and bridegroom] and the rice-grains, are borrowed from the Banias. In this connection, it is curious to observe how far the Parsis have loyally kept their promises to the Rana of Sanjan. In costume, there are still, in some country-neighbourhoods, resemblances between the Banias and the Parsis, so striking that the traveller might be deceived, did he fail to note the sacred mark inscribed on the Hindu forehead.

As regards the Punchayat, a short sketch of the interior regulations of the community has been given, sufficient to give an idea how the ancients understood their duties and treated their culprits. Too many citations of cases, almost always identical, would have wearied the reader; but there will, doubtless, be some interest in an explanation of the incentives which led to the passing of the *Chattels Real Act*, the *Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act*, [the *Parsi Succession Act*], and to the establishment of the Parsi Matrimonial Courts.

As to Education, a view has been given of the progress effected, by the production of Reports and

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Returns. One can imagine the eagerness with which both sexes addressed themselves to take advantage of instruction. The figures invariably speak for themselves. This eagerness is at the root of the evolution already hinted at, and to exhibit which an attempt has been made in the chapters devoted to Commerce, Literature, and Politics. It has been deemed necessary here to exercise restraint, and to adopt a plan, in justice to those who deserve it, which, at the same time, allows of following the general movement, and of uniting with it sketches of eminent men. It is to be feared that some names may have been passed over, well worthy of figuring here, and some others imperfectly estimated. In most cases this is due to want of information,—the more so as regards Literature and Politics, this being the first time that an attempt has been made to give a systematic view of them. It was natural that a history of the Press should find a place in this Chapter, since it is by the Press the grand result was reached in the accession of our fugitives to literary and public life. As to Politics, we should chiefly wish to bring out the special character of the Parsis as middlemen in olden times between Europeans and the Natives: now and again, *charges d'affaires* to native princes: now acting as a bond of union between the governing and the governed, and strengthening themselves by a profound sympathy for India,—the land of their adoption,—and for the English, their old factory friends, their masters to-day.

In the movement for Social Reform, which is stirring India at this moment, the Parsis are no less zealous than in Politics. A laborious apprenticeship, of their own making, gives them the right to speak with authority. This, however, is not the place for a discussion on soil no longer our own. And yet, without studying the present situation of India, it would have been impossible to show the Parsis in their social and political rôles. As one of

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their number has well said, without them a clear idea of public life in modern India would be impossible. *Per contra*, a clear idea of the rôle of the Parsis would be impossible without a knowledge of the working of that public life. This is how it came to be possible that nothing which concerns purely Indian Politics—the National Congress, for instance,—can ever be quite clear to the European reader any more than the great influence of the first statesman of the Parsi community, Dadabhai Naoroji, or that of the more famous reformer, Behramji Malabari. It must suffice to lay down a few landmarks. The complete study is yet to make, and that would have transcended the limits to which we are confined.

With the introduction of the reader to the growth of civil life, there remained nothing but to introduce him into the sanctuary whither the Parsi goes to pray and strengthen his faith. But before crossing with him the threshold of the *Atash-Behram*, or of the simple *Dadgah*, some account of the fundamental dogmas of Parsi-ism, and, at least, a general notion of the great place held by Mazdeism in antiquity, and of the works of which it has been the object in modern times, should be presented. The mastery of the *Avesta* by Anquetil Duperron, and the splendid labours of Eugene Burnouf, received a valuable complement in the deciphering of the cuneiform Persian inscriptions, a restoration of tradition long obscured by Greek myth and national folklore. Doubt was impossible once the *savant* had spelt out the name of Darius on the rocks of Behistan [near Hamadan] and Naksh-i-Rustam, and read the profession of Faith in which the King of Kings avowed himself the disciple of Ahura-Mazda, like his humble descendant, the Bombay Parsi! Mazdeism appears in the double character of a religion, monotheistic and revealed. It was revealed by God to men, or rather to Zoroaster, the Great Prophet, under whose influence the polytheistic errors of the Magicians were succeeded

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by the pure reign of Ahura! It rests on a dual philosophical system, which, in the *Avesta*, frames the primary dogma of the co-existence of two conflicting principles of Good and Evil, with the assurance of the ultimate victory of the first and the downfall of the second.

As to the title,—"Fire Worshipper,"—which obstinately attaches alike to the Guebre of Persia and the Parsi of Bombay, it is absolutely incorrect. Fire is looked upon only as an emblem, the purest, the noblest symbol of Divinity, Virtue, and Morality.

The moral doctrines are extremely simple. We find in them the same dual division which governs the Divine order. Two principles exist also in man under the influence of Ormuzd and Ahriman. They show themselves by 'Good Thoughts,' 'Good Words,' and 'Goods Deeds' in opposition to 'bad thoughts,' 'bad words,' and 'bad acts.' Thus, the Zoroastrian life is a continuous strife between two attractions. It is for him to conquer. Only his good works will speak for him at the supreme hour and assure him of ever-lasting happiness. Haug has justly observed that the moral philosophy of Zoroaster moves within the triad of "Thought, Word, and Deed": a conception which contains the old affirmation of the responsibility and the independence of Ego.

The exercises of the cult are limited. At a prescribed age, the Mazdien receives the sacred badges, the *Sudrah* and the *Kusti*, which make him a *Beh-din*, that is to say, a proficient in the true Faith. Purifications are obligatory at certain seasons and under certain circumstances. The services are numerous. Offerings consist of flowers and perfumes, and, for the most distinguished, in the consumption, by the priest, of the sacred beverage, Parahom. Great care has been taken in the description of the Mazdean temple in India, so different from the Achemenian *Ayadana*, or from the sanctuary of the Sassanides. For a long period, it did not differ from other buildings.

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Now-a-days, some of them are remarkable for proportions and architecture. The Parsis do not attend the temple in any regular fashion. They come to pray there at pleasure. But they own no necessity for retirement thither. Nature, in her majesty, often serves them for a Temple.

This extreme simplicity in doctrine and practice is, according to Max Muller, one cause of the Parsi's attachment to his religion. It is this which has prevented his answering to the appeals of the Christian, the Mussulman, or the Hindu. There is no abstruse problem, no theological crux, for the Faithful. A profession of faith, of general belief, in the books of Zoroaster suffices: nor is there any obligation to believe all the statements contained in these. One must admit that, for a long period, this attachment was blind; but, blind as it was, it had the advantage of rendering the Parsis as recalcitrant to conversion, as opposed to proselytism. Old travellers have always made a note of this peculiarity as tending to preserve intact the nucleus of the Zoroastrians without adding to it by new adhesions.

The clergy form a special class. Unfortunately, it is not always recommended by its learning or lights. The priests have been judged too harshly, and are so still, by the educated of their own people. No account has been taken of the fact that, in all ages, among a caste so numerous, there had been men of brilliancy and education, such as the authors of the *Shikand-Gumanik* or the *Minokherd*. The Pahlavi translations, those of Neriosang in Sanskrit for example, are evidence that, even in those remote days, ignorance was not so complete as some would have it. The production of the works of Pahlavi literature will be enough to dispel an illusion which has been fostered by travellers' tales who had no means of obtaining information or of exercising criticism in a matter so delicate.

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A great change has taken place. Among the priests are to be counted, at present, distinguished scholars, to whom those of the west are indebted for valuable information. They produce remarkable works, commentaries, or translations, and, since the collaboration of Haug with Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji and the teaching of Mr. K. R. Cama, have adopted the scientific method of Europe.

We have been able to give a view of the intellectual movement evincing itself in the sacerdotal class. This view is less complete than could have been wished. But it will suffice to initiate us into the occupations of the clergy. On the other hand, the sons of priests have no hesitation in relinquishing the hereditary functions of priesthood and throwing themselves into civil life. Generally speaking, they are intelligent and successful in the careers they embrace. It has been remarked that they are endowed with wonderful powers of memory, the result, no doubt, of this faculty having been cultivated among them for ages by the mechanical recitation of prayers and services accompanied by traditional minutiæ of ritual. It is true that our refugees had unlearnt the language in which their sacred texts were preserved, and that, with rare exceptions, they had lost their meaning. But, in our opinion, this ignorance has been of great value, in as much as it has contributed to preserve the trust they had in their hands free from an admixture. It was this ignorance which has allowed the fragments of the *Avesta* to pass triumphantly through ages of time. Such is no longer the case. Collected by Anquetil Duperron, handed over to the scrutiny of scholars the texts of the *Avesta* first underwent the fate of scientific documents, long desired and greeted with profound curiosity, and then that of other religious books. Submitted to the process of rationalistic criticism, under these last conditions, it could scarcely be hoped, during the present

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millennium, that they should preserve the same integrity, and the *Avesta* remain the exception. No creed but that of Mazdeism lays claims to its doctrines. Inferior in this respect to Judaism and Christianity, it has never cast root in the West. It was in vain that the cult of Mithra seemed to challenge Christianity at a moment when all Eastern Faiths were received in Roman society. Mithra, to be sure,—one of the personifications of physical and moral forces,—the *Yazata* of the Sun, considered as the source of a life-giving light, had taken rank under the Achœmenides beside Ormuzd,—but was it the *same* Mithra *recognized* for the first time in the Græco-Roman world about 70 B. C., whose worship systematized on the principle of the mysteries of ancient Greece, made itself triumphant in the 2nd and 3rd centuries? Mithraism commended itself on the same grounds which popularized Christianity. Indeed, Renan asserts even that, had Christianity been checked in its birth by some mortal malady, the world would have been Mithrian. Mithrian, it may be so; but *not Mazdean.* For the Mithrian *Mysteries* have no relation whatsoever to Mazdeism, which was bound to remain distinctly the possession of a loyal minority, settled in a land where the first principles of what obtained were in common with it. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to misunderstand the affinities between India and Iran,—linguistic and religious. Nay, it may be even these affinities which explain the good relations between the refugees and the Indian populations.

And here we may say a word on the documents we have availed ourselves of. These may be ranked as follows:—The *Parsi Prakash* of Mr. Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, and the two editions of the work of Mr. Dosabhai Framji Karaka for general facts, with the *Mumbai-no-Bahar* of Mr. Ruttonjee Framjee Watchha for certain biographies; the books, pamphlets, brochures, and

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Ruttonjee Framjee Watchha
Author of 'Mumbai-no-Bahar'
(See page 16)

Rustam B. Paymaster, B.A., LL.B.
Author of 'Parsi Prakash,' vol. III
(See page 7)

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reports, engravings, and portraits received direct from Bombay. Our thanks are due, for their constant assistance, so indispensable to the production of this work, to Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Secretary of the Parsi Punchayat and [late] Vicar of the Jijibhai Dadabhai *Agiari* of Colaba, and to M. M. Murzban, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.* No less are our thanks due to the Directors of the Guimet Museum for permitting the work to appear. Nor must we forget the friends we have among the Parsi community and who have assisted with their sympathy and advice.

We trust that any errors, which may have crept in, may be imputed to ourselves and not to our excellent correspondents. Our editorial work coming to conclusion with the autumn of 1896, no surprise will be felt at the absence of any mention of some painful events which have occurred during the winter of 1897, and of the sad occurrences which shadowed the horizon in India. The community has also sustained losses which we could not then register. One of the most keenly felt was that of Bai Motlibai Manekji Wadia, a lady who, by her virtues and her noble use of her fortune, deserves to have her name inscribed in the *fasti* of Zoroastrianism.

It is to be hoped that the numerous Plates will facilitate the text of the work. The greater parts of these have been supplied by our loyal collaborateurs, Messrs. Modi and Murzban. One group especially deserves atten-

* [The author's Introduction is intended to cover also her forthcoming second volume containing, among other sundry matters, an exhaustive chapter on "Religion." In justice, therefore, to Mr J. J. Modi, I must here state that my humble collaboration with the author was entirely in connection with the present (first) French volume, Mr Modi's collaboration being for the second volume. I gather this from a letter, dated 8th September, 1898, in which the author wrote to me as follows :—"Mr. Modi's name is mentioned in the Introduction in anticipated acknowledgment of the Chapter on Religion."—M. M. M.]

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tion, as showing Parsi and Hindu ladies side by side. The two types and two races are thus most sharply distinguished.

In the Appendixes * will be found a number of documents which could not have been well placed in the body of the work: such as, a complete census of the Parsi population, a communication of the highest interest for which we are indebted to Mr. Ardeshir Meherban, the chief lay member of the Zoroastrian community of Yezd,—with whom Mr. Ed. G. Browne, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, lecturer in Persian, was good enough to place us in correspondence; lists of Towers of Silence and Fire Temples; lastly, a *Vahi* forwarded by Mr J. J. Modi, and carefully translated *in toto* by a young Parsi scholar. The *Vahi*, —archives of old families,—are one of the most important sources of the history of the community. This *Vahi* gives the family pedigree of the Dasturs of Broach. Darmsteter quoted it without publishing it in his first volume of the *Zend Avesta:* (The *Yasna*, Introduction, *Material*, p. CXIII.) It substantiates our notes on the organization of the Zoroastrian clergy in the chapter on priesthood.†

In the spelling of Sanskrit, Pahlavi, and Gujarati words, the author's usage has always been preserved. But uniformity in that of geographical names has been abandoned as hopeless. One instance may suffice: *Broach*, in English, is the *Barotch* of Anquetil, and the *Bharoutch* of Elizee Reclus. In Gujarati, it is written as *Bh* (*a*) *ruch*. With these variations it is useless to be too precise. Enough to say that all forms adopted can claim a respectable paternity. With proper names, there are two modes of spelling in Gujarati: those of Gilchrist and of Jones. We

* [These Appendixes have been omitted in the French edition of the first volume.—M. M. M.]

† [The documents, referred to in this paragraph, have not yet been published by the authoress up to the date of this English edition going to press.—M.M.M.]

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have nearly always followed Jones. Still, in cases where the owner of a name has adopted Gilchrist's, it has been deemed necessary to follow him. The one capital blunder which has been avoided is to adopt the two styles in one word.

It is to be hoped that the reader will not let himself be repelled by dryness of details. We have borne in mind, before everything, that the books of this series of the *Musee Guimet Annals* are intended for study rather than popularity. Thus, we have often sacrificed, to truth and to the production of a positive proof, the pleasure of proposing a personal opinion or a tempting generalization.

PARIS : *September, 1897.*

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The Times Press.

Miss Ratanbai Ardesir Framji Vakil, B. A.

The translator of Chapters I to III of the English edition of *Les Parsis*.—For her college career, see the Chapter on "Education of Women," *post*, in a monograph by the Rev. Dr Mackichan, of the Wilson's College, Bombay.

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THE PARSIS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I.

[Translated by the late Miss Ratanbai Ardeshir Framji Vakil, B.A.]

THE EXODUS OF THE PARSIS.

THE Parsis are the descendants of the ancient Persians, whose fame has survived in the annals of the world. Reduced henceforth to perhaps the most restricted minority amongst all the nations of the globe, they are found dispersed all over the Presidency of Bombay, [and other parts of India], and in some districts of modern Persia, in Yezd, and in Kirman, where they have been vegetating for centuries. The Bible,[1] the classical historians,[2] national traditions,[3] and epigraphical documents recently brought to light by European *savants*,[4] give us some

1. The first mention of the Persians is made in *Jeremiah* xxxix, 3.

2. Herodotus, Ctesias, Deinon, Theopompe, Hermippe, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Pliny, Strabo, Pausanias, Dion Chrysostom, Damascius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, etc.,

3. Mahomedan writers : Firdousi. Mirkhond, Tabari, Masoudi, Shahrastani, Dimisqhi, ibn Fozlan, etc. Armenian writers: Ezniki, Elisee, etc.

4. The Cuneiform Achæmenian inscriptions found in Persia and in other places, deciphered and published by Grotefend, Burnouf, Lassen, Rawlinson, Norris, Spiegel, de Sau'cy, Oppert, Menant, Kossowicz, etc. etc.

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information concerning the chief events of their history[5].

Fars represents, in our days, the little province of *Parsua*, which has given its name to one of the greatest civilizations of antiquity. It is bounded on the west by Susiana, on the north and on the east by the Deserts of Khavir and Kirman, with a coastline, along the Persian Gulf, extending from Bushire to Bunder Abbas. In ancient times the inhabitants, divided into tribes, led a simple, rustic life, superior in all respects to their neighbours the Medes, already enervated by civilization. Between the ages of five and twenty, says Herodotus, the young Persians were taught three things: to ride the horse, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. (Her., *Clio*, cxxxi.) It was amongst them, and amongst the Bactrians, that the principles of the Zoroastrian religion had been maintained in all their purity.

5. [In 1896, through a Society called the *Zoroastrian Brotherhood*, Ardeshir Sorabji Dastur-Kamdin offered a prize of rupees 250 for the best Essay, in the form of a collection of opinions, views, etc., regarding the Persian-Zoroastrians and Parsi-Zoroastrians, (if I may so coin distinctive appellatives for the two Zoroastrian communities residing in Persia and in India, respectively, at the present day). The prize was awarded to Dadabhai Kharshedji Dordi, a very assiduous Ervad, known for his great industry in collecting, from all sources, a variety of information about Parsis, their religion, and institutions, and much else that appertained to them. I have, in some of the pages of this book, indicated a few such useful collections. The Essay, above cited, was printed as a posthumous work, in 1899 A. D., and contains, in Gujarati, the opinions recorded by all and sundry,—old Greek, Roman, and Arabian writers, down to the present-day writers, —including tourists in India and Persia. The arrangement facilitates reference according to the names of writers and speakers, in order of the Gujarati alphabet. It is an unique collection, prepared with good deal of industry. In confirmity with one of the conditions for the prize, the opinions reproduced portray only the best traits etc., of the Zoroastrian communities of India and Persia.—M. M. M.]

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With Cyrus,[6] a descendant of the Achæmenes, the real history of Persia begins. He founded the dynasty of the Achæmenides, which lasted for two centuries, and attained, by its conquests, a degree of splendour, of which we find unmistakable traces everywhere. It was at Arbela [7] (331) that Alexander overthrew Darius,[8] the last prince

6. [*Cyrus*: The Rev. Dr Hope Moulton, D. Lit. (Lond.), D. D. (Edin.), D.C.L. (Durh.), D. Theol. (Berlin), in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, devotes a few pages (40-44) to the discussion of the problem of the religion professed by Cyrus, and the Achæmenians, from the standpoint of several learned authors, such as Prof. Eduard Meyer, Dr L. H. Gray, and the Rev. Dr Casartelli. Dr Moulton refers (on p. 247) to his own "independent view of the religion professed by Cyrus and Cambyses as simply Iranian *daiva*-worship, without any trace of Zarathushtra's Reform." This masterly treatise contains Lectures delivered at Oxford and in London in 1912. I may mention here, in passing, that this learned divine gave an intellectual feast to the Bombay Parsis, in 1916, in the shape of several lectures in connection with their religion.—M. M. M.]

7. Arrien: *The Expediton of Alexander*, lev. III. cxxii.

8. ["We have good reason to believe that he [Darius] was a genuine and earnest follower of Zarathushtra, while by no means fanatical as to the recognition of deities whom the Prophet sternly ignored."—*Vide* p. 432 of James Hope Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*: (Hibbert Lectures: 2nd series): (Williams and Norgate, Publishers: London 1913). As explained on page 2 of his book, by the word "Early" he means, in general, the period ending with Alexander the Great. In these Lectures, he is mainly concerned with the origins of the Zoroastrian religion, and with the lines on which it diverged, in later times, from its first model. Zarathushtra himself and the *Gathas* take a primary place in Prof. Moulton's scheme. All my excerpts, from this learned author, I have taken from this book only, and so the name of this book may not be repeated, sometimes, while referring to the author. He devotes some space to the discussion of the problem of the religion of Darius. On p. viii, of his Preface, he says: "Darius is pronounced to have been the first true Zoroastrian among the Achæmenian kings; but it is urged that antiquity had dimmed the clearness of the Prophet [Zarathushtra's] more esoteric teaching even with this truly religious monarch." On p. 48: "But in the case of Darius we

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of this dynasty, and, on his death, Persia was numbered amongst the countries that had passed under the subjection of the Seleucidæ. In 255 B.C., Arsace, of the province of Parthia,[9] revolted against Antiochus Theos, and laid the foundations of a new empire. The dynasty of the Arsacides reigned until a Persian prince of somewhat inferior birth, Ardeshir,[10] founded in his turn a national dynasty, *viz.*, that of the Sassanides. (226 A. D.) The Romans were its constant enemies. However, the real danger revealed itself only with the advent of the Arabs, who, approaching nearer and nearer, had already conquered several provinces, when King Yezdezard made preparations for resistance.

The first invasion took place under Khalif Omar (633).[11] Khalud ben Walid, at the head of ten thousand

have really strong evidence to support the conclusion of Prof. Geldner, [in *Encyclopædia Britanica*, *s.v.* 'Zoroaster'], that "Darius and his successors were without doubt devoted adherents of Zoroastrianism." On p. 55 Dr Moulton says: "...in any case, we have no reason to credit Darius with the whole creed of the Gathas. He was probably further removed from Zarathushtra's day than was the Gatha Haptanghaiti; but he is a better Zoroastrian than the authors of those prayers, on any showing, and less of a polytheist."

[Professor Hommel is of the opinion that Darius was the first to introduce Avestan religion into the Persian kingdom with certain concessions to popular feeling.—M.M.M.]

9. [Dr Moulton, (*op. cit.*) says (p. 46): "Parthia is exactly the district in which we should expect to find the earliest traces of Zoroastrianism proper."—M.M.M.]

10. [Ardashir (211—241 A.D.) was the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. Tradition tells that it was he and his successor Shahpur who completed the gathering of the lost Avestan texts. Darmsteter is of opinion that the part of king Ardashir and his high priest Tansar consisted in the composition rather than in the collection of these texts. (See Dr Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 30)—M.M.M.]

11. Weil, *Geschichte der Khalifen nach handschrift, grosstentheils Quellen &c., &c.*, ch. ii. pp. 54 *et seq.*; Mannheim. 1846. Caussin

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Map of the Ancient Persian Empire.

(Shaded portions indicate the largest extent reached in the time of Darius I, about 500 B. C.—Boundaries were: E.—Tibet and the River Indus. W.—Tripoli in Africa; the Mediterranean, the Ægean Sea, & Turkey. N.—The River Danube, the Black Sea, the River Oxus, and the Caucasus Mountains. S.—The Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea)

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Darius the Great
(521–485 B. C.)

"The great King, with state umbrella and attendants, as carved on one of the door-jambs of the palace of Darius I., at Persepolis."—Walter Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, Vol. II. p. 979.

"We have good reason to believe that Darius was a genuine and earnest follower of Zarathushtra, while by no means fanatical as to the recognition of deities whom the Prophet Zoroaster sternly ignored."—Rev. Dr Hope Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 432.

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men, and Mosanna, at the head of eight thousand, had marched against Hormuz, the Persian Governor of Irak, and had vanquished him. After this victory, Khalud had gone forward and conquered Irak ; but he was defeated at the battle of Marwaha (634). Four thousand Mussulmans were killed and two thousand retreated to Medina. Unfortunately the Persian General Behman did not follow up this advantage. The country was, at this time, divided into two factions, one under Rustam, the generalissimo of the Persian Empire, the other under Prince Firoz. Behman, instead of guarding the independence of his country, hastened to support Rustam against Firoz. The Arabs emboldened by their rapid successes, established their camp between Kadesia[12] and Koufah, where, by the

de Perceval: *History of the Arabs*, liv. ix. p. 400, (1848). Malcolm: *Hist. of Persia, from the most early period to the present time*, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 170, (London, MDCCCXV).

12. *Quadesyeh.*—A place celebrated for the battles fought there between the Mussulmans and the Persians.* It is about fifteen *farsakhs* from Koufah and four miles from Ozhaib ; longitude, 69° : latitude 31° 2,'3". It was in the year 16 of the Hejira, under the Caliphate of Omer *ben* Khatthab that the Mussulmans, commanded by Sa'd *ben* Abi Waqqas, fought against the 'infidels.' During the action, Sa'd had withdrawn into the castle† to watch the movements of his troops. This step was regarded as a proof of cowardice, and a Mussulman in the army composed [some] verses against him‡.

* The town of Elkadder, not far from Kerbela, marks the old site of Kadesia. As to Koufah, a collection of ruins marks the site of the capital of the Caliphate, which is said to have been as great as Babylon.

† "There was at Ozhaib a castle belonging to the Persians called *Qodais*, whence, it is said, the name *Quadesyeh*. Sa'd occupied it with his harem, as he was suffering from gout, and could neither sit nor ride. Lying on the top of this fortress, he watched his army, and some men, posted below, transmitted his military orders and arrangements." (*Merasid*). See *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabs*, by Causin de Perceval. iii. 481-485, and Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.* I. pp. 65 *et seq.*

‡ [I have omitted these for several reasons.—M.M.M.]

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Caliph's order, hordes of Nomads came to reinforce their troops. The struggle lasted for three days and three nights: the Persian army was entirely destroyed, and the

Another poet, Bischer *ben* Rebi'ah has spoken of the battle of Quadesyeh in these terms (*thawil* metre):—

"My camel stopped at the gates of Quadesyeh; my chief was Sa'd *ben* (Abi) Waqqas.

Remember (may God guide thee) our prowess near Quodais, and the blindness of our perfidious enemies.

That evening many of us would willingly have borrowed the wings of the birds to fly away.

When their battalions advanced one after another against us, like unto moving mountains,

With my sword I threw their ranks into disorder, and my lance dispersed them; for I am a man worthy of wielding the lance.

I and my companions: Amr, father of Thawr, the martyr, Hashem, Qais, No'man the brave, and Djerir."

There exists a great number of poems composed in honour of this battle, one of the most celebrated, and fraught with the greatest blessing for the Mussulmans. Omar having written to Sa'd to ask for some information regarding the position of Quadesyeh, the latter sent him the following:—"Quadesyeh is situated between the moat and el-'Atiq (the canal of the Euphrates). On its left is the sea, a sort of bay, whence lead two roads to Hirah: the first, over high hills; the second, over the banks of a river called *Khousous*, which passes out between Khawarnaq and Hirah; on its right are numerous streams which water the country. All the tribes who have made peace with the Mussulmans before my arrival tremble before the Persians, and are ready to assist me." The historians of the first conquests divide this affair, at Quadesyeh, into four battles. The first is called the *battle of Ermath*; the second, the *battle of Aghwath*; the third, the *battle of Amas*; the evening preceding the fourth, they called the *evening* of *Herir*, or of the storm; and the last, *the battle of Quadesyeh*. The celebrated Rustam, son of Farrokh-Zad, lost his life in this battle, and the Persians could not replace this skilful general. (*Dictionnaire geographique, historique et litteraire de la Perse et des Contrees adjacentes*, taken from the *Mo'd'jem et-Bouldan* of Yaquot, &c. Translation by Barbier de Meynard; Paris, 1861, p. 432.)

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royal standard fell into the hands of the Arabs.[13] Yezdezard, informed of this misfortune, escaped to Holwan. Sa'd, having taken possession of Madain, pursued the fugitive monarch, who withdrew to Rei.

In the twentieth year of the Hejira, Omar recalled Sa'd, and Yezdezard took this opportunity to gather together a hundred and fifty thousand men, all the contingents having been drawn from the province of Khorassan and from the environs of Rei and Hamadan. Firouzan was appointed commander. The Caliph, hearing of the preparations of the Persian king, in his turn sent reinforcements, and placed at their head his general No'man, with the strictest orders to "destroy the profane religion of the Fire-worshippers." It was at Nehawend[14]

13. Malcolm: *Hist. of Persia*, vol. I. ch. vi. p. 174. Weil: *Geschichte der Chalifen* ch. ii. pp. 54 *et seq.* Caussin de Perceval: *History of the Arabs*, bk. x, pp. 481 *et seq.* Masoudi: *Prairies d'Or* (trans., Barbier de Meynard) c. lxxvi. p. 207: Tabari, (trans. H. Zotenberg), part iv, ch. xli pp. 385 *et seq.*

14. *Nehawend.*—A large town about three days' journey from Hamadan, in the direction of the *qiblah* (south-west). Aboul-Moundher Hischam says it received this name because it was discovered completely built, and in the same condition as at present. Others carry back its foundation to Noah, and think that its present name is an abbreviation of *Nouh-Awend* or *Nouh-Wand*, that is to say, the city of Noah. Hamzah thinks that its old name was *Nouha-Wend*, which means "the well-multiplied." Nehawend is situated in the fourth climate, 72° longitude and 36° latitude; it is one of the oldest cities of Djebal. It was conquered about the year 19 or 20 of the Hejira. Abu Bekr-el-Hodhaili, relying upon the testimony of Mohammed, son of Hasan, says: "The battle of Nehawend was fought in the year 21, under the Caliphate of Omar, son of Khatthab. The Mussulmans were commanded by No'main *ben* Mokarren-el-Mouzeni; this general had under him Hodhaifah, son of Yemani, Djerir *ben'* Abd A'llah, el-Moghairah *ben* Scha'bah and el-Asch'ath *ben* Qais. When No'man, who was one of the companions of the Prophet, was killed, the commandership passed into the hands of Hodhaifah; it was this chief who concluded the peace, as we attribute

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that, after a delay of two months, the shock of arms decided the fate of Iran. Thirty thousand Persians fell on the battle-field, and eighty thousand were drowned in the moats surrounding the camp. Firouzan was pursued into the mountains and killed by a detachment of Arabs.(15)

From that time, Persia passed into the hands of the Caliphs. Yezdezard escaped, at first to Seistan and then to Merv. The governor of this town offered to deliver up the fugitive prince to the Khan of Turkestan. The Turks entered the town in spite of the resistance of the inhabitants, and the king, taking advantage of the confusion, succeeded in hiding himself in a neighbouring mill. The miller at first gave protection to the king: but, prompted

it to the word *Mdh-Dinar*." This is what El-Moubarek *ben* Saib, who derived this information from his father, relates: "Nehawend was taken by the army of Koufah, and Dinewer by the troops of Basrah. As the population of Koufah had considerably increased, some of its inhabitants were obliged to emigrate into the countries newly pacified and subject to Kharadj. It is thus that they come to inhabit Dinewer. The province of Koufah was received in exchange for Nehawend which was annexed to the province of Ispahan, the remainder of Kharadj being taken off from Dinewer and Nehawend. It was in the reign of Mo'awiah *ben* Abi Soufian that Nehawend was called *Mah-el-Basrah* and Dinewar *Mah-el-Koufah*. The Persians, before the battle of Nehawend, had gathered together considerable troops; it is said that their army, commanded by Firouzan, numbered about 150,000 men. After this important battle, which was called the 'Victory of Victories,' the resistance of the Persians became less and less. The most accredited opinion is that these events took place during the fifth year of Omar's Caliphate, the year 19 of the Hejira." (Cf. *Essai*: *Histoir eles Arabes*, by Caussin de Perceval, vol. iii. p. 491, and the *Annals* of Abou'l Feda: ed. of Reiske, vol. i. p. 242. See B. de Meynard; *Dict. Geog., Hist., etc.*, p. 573.)

15. Malcolm: *History of Persia*, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 176.—G. Weil: *Geschichte der Chalifen*, &c., ch. ii. p. 54.—Masoudi, *Prairies d'Or*; translation by Barbier de Meynard, ch. lxxvi. p. 233.—Tabari: translated by Zotenberg, part iv. ch. xlvii. p. 467.

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by a desire to possess himself of his arms and his clothes, he, like a coward, killed the king. The irate people massacred the assassin, and the body of Yezdejard, son of Sheheriar, the last sovereign of the Sassanian dynasty,[16] was sent to Istakhr, there to be deposited among his ancestors. (A. D. 650).

The conquest of Persia was accomplished with surprising rapidity. Shortly after the death of the king, Islamism was imposed upon all; but certain amongst the Mazdiens offered resistance, and even succeeded in remaining in their father-land;[17] others, unwilling to accept the law of the Koran, abandoned their hearths, and went and dwelt in the mountainous districts of Khorassan,[18] where, for a

16. [See Dastur M. N. Dhalla's *Zoroastrian Theology*, (1914), ch. xxxiii, "Downfall of the Sassanians and the Aftermath," pp. 297 *et. seq.* for an interesting epitome.—M.M.M.]

17. [E. Rehatsek, in his Paper, "The Baw and Gaobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian shores," (in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1876), vol. vii. pp. (410-445), gives a short history of some of the Zoroastrian principalities that existed in the mountainous districts, north of the Elburz range, even long after the downfall of the Persian Empire under Yazdezard.—M.M.M.]

18. *Khorassan.*—A large country stretching from Iráq (Persian), to Azadwar (the chief town of the province of Djouein) and to Beihaq. It is bounded, on the side of India (on the south and east), by Thokharistan, Ghaznee, Sedjestan, and Kirman. It contains fine cities, such as Nisabour, Merve, (which has been the capital of Balkh), Herat, Thaleqan, Nesa, Abiwerd, Serakhs, and other large cities situate on this side of the river Oxus. Some geographers have placed the provinces of Kharezm and a part of Transoxiana in Khorassan, but that is an error. ...When Islam appeared in the world the Khorassanians, by a quite special favour of Providence, eagerly welcomed it. They accepted, without opposition, the peace offered them; hence they were subjected to a light tax only, and escaped being massacred or made prisoners. The conquest itself took place in the eighteenth year of the Hejira. 'Omar *ben* Khattab sent, into Khorassan, El-Ahnef *ben* Qais, who, in a short time, took possession successively of the two Thabes, Herat, Merv,

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hundred years, they were able to live and practise their religion without molestation. They were, however, obliged to quit [19] this asylum and to take refuge in large numbers in the small island of Hormuz, [20] at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Here they made but a short sojourn, and

esch-Schah-idjan, and Nisabour, after having forced the Persian king Yezdezard, son of Shehriar, to take refuge, in Transoxiana, with the Khan of the Turks. (See B. de Meynard, *Dict. Geog., Hist.*, &c., p. 197.)

19. [Dr J.J. Modi, in his *Glimpse*, etc., (p. 82), says : ".....The first band of the Parsi fugitives from Kohistan are reported, on the authority of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, to have left their district and come to Ormuz in A.D. 751. Thus, it appears, that they must have left their mountainous district shortly after the commencement of the Arab invasion of Tabaristan in 749 A.D., as described by E. Rehatsek, (in his Paper, at p. 410 of the *Journal* of the B.B.R.A. Society, (1876), vol. xii), on the authority of Mahomedan authors."—M.M.M.]

20. *Hormuz.*—This town is situated on an arm of the sea, communicating with Fars. It serves as a port to Kirman, and it is there that vessels from India deposit the merchandise destined for Kirman, Sedjestan and Khorassan. Some authors write and pronounce it *Hormouz.* (See B. de Meynard : *Dict. Geog., Hist.*, &c., p. 595.)

Mohammed Medjdi gives some historical details concerning the old town and Island of Hormuz up to the time of the conquest of Albuquerque (1514) : " The town of Hormuz is situated in the second climate, and the heat there is excessive. Founded by Ardeshir Babegan, it was abandoned (in 715) by king Shems-ed-din, who feared the attacks of the neighbouring brigands. This king built another town in the Island of Djeroun, about one *farsakh* from the coast, and kept for it the name of *Hormuz.* For a hundred and twenty years the *Franks* have exercised there an absolute power. Its governor, Nour ed Din, having conceived the fatal idea of asking their assistance when in a difficult situation, allowed them a tenth part of its revenue. In a short time, they so skilfully usurped the authority that the king and the vezir of the country had not the least share in the government." (*Zinet*, ch. ix.) Before the Portuguese conquest, this Island, a tributary to Persia and annexed to Kirman, paid an annual contribution of sixty thousand dinars. (*Nouzhet*, p. 670. See also the Arabic text of Abou'l Feda, p. 339, and the *Voyages of Ibn Batoutah*, vol. ii. p. 230.)—B. de Meynard : *Dict. Geog., Hist.*, &c., p. 595 (*note*).

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finally decided to seek the protection of the Hindus. They procured vessels and embarked with their wives and children.

The relations between Persia and India had not been unfrequent, and it was precisely their former intercourse,—rendered closer a few centuries before the Arab invasion,—that made this migration possible. This we can see from an interesting *resume* given in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 247, and which we shall place here:

In mythic times, there was the religious connection of Zoroaster, (not later than B.C. 1000, as per Haug's *Essays*, p. 299), with India and the Brahman Tchengreghatchah, who was sent back to convert his countrymen, and Firdousi's story of Prince Isfandiyar, the son of Gushtasp, who was so keen a believer in Zoroaster that he persuaded the Emperor of India to adopt fire-worship. (Elliot's *History*, V. 568). The Hindu account of the introduction of fire-worshipping priests from Persia into Dwarka (in Kathiawad) is probably of a much later date. (Reinaud's *Memoir sur l'Inde*, pp. 391-397.) There was also a very early political connection in the mythic conquests of North India, which, according to Persian writers, have been repeated from time to time since 1729 B. C. (Troyer's *Rajatarangini*, II. 441). In historic times, the Punjab formed part of the Persian dominions from its conquest by Darius Hystaspes, about 510 B.C., till the later days (350 B. C.) of the Achæmenean dynasty. [21] (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, IV. 433.) About the beginning of the Christian era, the Kanerkis, the Indian Scythian rulers of the Punjab, from the fire-altar on their coins, seem to have adopted the religion of the

21. ["The Achaemenian kings were certainly Mazdayasnans; presumably, they were Zoroastrians. But they were decidedly not glowing with the religious fervour of missionary zeal."—Dastur M.N. Dhalla, Ph. D.: *Zoroastrian Theology*: (From the earliest times to the present-day, 1914), p. 73.—M.M.M.]

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Magi.[22] (Lassen, in the Journal, of the Beng. A.S., XI. 456; Prinsep's Note on Hist. Res. from Bactrian Coins, 106.) As regards the south of India, Ptolemy's (150) mention of Brahmani Magi has been thought to show a connection with Persia, but the Kanarese word *mag*, or son, seems a simple and sufficient explanation.

22. [*Magi*: or '*Mog*,' or '*Majus*,' are three appellatives often used for the Zoroastrian priests of Persia. Kavasji Dinshah Kyash in his *Travels in Persia*, p. 156, surmises: that the term 'magi' was derived from 'Majdayas' as its abbreviated form, and that '*Magi*' was used, by the Greek and Roman historians, for 'Mobed' or priests; the 'Mog' is an abbreviated form of 'Mogbad,' also meaning 'Mobed.'

Dr L. H. Mills regards the Magi "as representing the Zarathushtrianism of the *Vendidad*." See p. XXXV of the Introduction to his English translation of the *Gathas*, in vol. XXXI of the Sacred Books of the East series.

Dean Farrar, in his *Life of Christ*, (Ch. on 'The visit of the Magi'), says that Herod the Great, on hearing of the birth of Christ, sent certain "wise men" to Bethlehem,—the birth-place of the Saviour. "The name 'Magi,' by which they are called,"—says the learned writer,—"in the Greek of St. Matthew, is perfectly vague. It meant, originally, a sect of Median and Persian scholars; it was subsequently applied (as in *Acts* XIII.6) to pretended astrologers of Oriental sooth-sayers. Such characters were well-known to antiquity, under the name of Chaldeans, and their visits were by no means unfamiliar even to the western nations." In a later passage, in the same chapter, Dean Farrar notes: "If they [the Magi] were disciples of Zoroaster, they would see, in the Infant King, [Christ], the future conqueror of Ahriman, the destined Lord of all the world," because a "guilty world."—reigned over, at the period of the nativity of Christ, by Herod,—"was dimly expecting the advent of its Deliverer."

Dr Moulton, in his *Early Zoroastrianism* (p. 428: *Excursus*), gives a note on the history of the nomenclature of 'Magu.' Albiruni (p. 314, ed. Sachau) says: "The ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now [about 1000 A.D] there is no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster. In fact, they belong now either to the Zoroastrians or to the *Shamsiyya* sect (sun-worshippers.)" *Cf.* Jackson: *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran*, (p. 141.)

"*Magi, the Zoroastrian priesthood of Western Iran.*—The Medes had founded a vast empire on the ruins of Assyria in the 7th century

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An Ancient Magian ✓

(From Hyde's *Religion of the Persians,* in Latin, published in 1700 A. D.)

Note.—In the back-ground are to be seen Balaclava-cap-like *paitidana* (the modern *padan*) or ' mouth-veils', of mobeds and which the Magians are said to have used while at some religious ceremonies.

" The ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster."—Al-biruni, (Sachau's ed., p. 314).

The Magi " represent the Zarathushtrianism of the *Vendidad*."—Rev. Dr L. H. Mills.

The religious practices and beliefs of the Magi "are characteristic features of the Magian faith, which....the Magi foisted upon Zoroastrianism." (p. 69) "The Magi did not receive recognition in the *Avesta*." (p. 191). "The whole of the *Vendidad*...savours of their spirit, nay it is their work."—Rev. Dr Hope Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism.*

A Mobed.

Parsi priest of the present day.

He is here portrayed as engaged in the Fravashi ceremonies. He is the counter-part of the Magian, whose code of rituals the present-day *Mobed* still very strictly follows.

"I donot undervalue sacrifice or ritual, if it keeps its appointed place as a help heavenward."—Rev. Dr Hope Moulton, in his address to Parsis, (in Bombay, in 1916), on the subject of " The Doctrine of Evil."

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Closer relations between India and Persia date from the revival of Persian power under the Sassanian kings. (A. D. 226-650). In the fifth century, the visit of the Persian prince Beheram Gor (436), probably to ask for help

B. C. The Magi formed one of the six tribes of the Medes. (Herodotus: I. 101), and constituted their sacredotal class. The Median Empire was short-lived. Cyrus overthrew Astyages, the last Median king, in B.C. 550, and laid the foundation of the great Achæmenian empire. The Persians thus conquered the early possessions of the Medes and the Magi, their priests; but they were in turn conquered by the latter in spirit." Dastur Dr M. N. Dhalla: *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 68.

"The Zoroastrian practices [are] alleged to have originated with the Magi. The disposal of the dead, by exposure to the light of the sun, the reverence for the elements, fire, water and earth, the stringent laws for bodily cleanliness, the active crusade against noxious creatures, are some of the salient features of the religious practices and beliefs of the Magi, that we glean from the writings of the Greek authors. They comprised a part of the Magi religion. The Magi, it seems to us, borrowed them from the athravans at some remote period. No data, however, are available to help us in our task of ascertaining when this took place. That the Magi introduced them in Western Iran is universally accepted.....They [the practices] are characteristic features of the Magian faith, which, we are told, during the period of their ascendancy, the Magi foisted upon Zoroastrianism. The whole of the *Vendidad*, it is claimed, savours of their spirit, nay, it is their work."—Dastur Dr M.N. Dhalla: *op. cit.*, p. 69. "As already pointed out, the Magi did not receive recognition in the Avesta. It is not so in the Pahlavi period [3rd to 9th century A.D. according to the author.] The Avestan term 'athravan' remains during this era as a class designation alone, but 'magopat',—which, later, becomes 'mobad',—is used throughout the Pahlavi literature, equally as a class designation for priesthood and as a personal title of a priest to distinguish him from a lay man."—Dhalla, *op cit.*, p. 191.

Dr Moulton (*op. cit.*, p. 417, foot-note 2), observes that the Magi were only recently attached to Zoroastrianism, in the time of Hecatœus of Miletus, who lived in the 6th and early 7th centuries. I have summarized these chapters of Dr Moulton, in *re* the Magi. in the March 1916 number of the *Journal* of the Iranian Association, Bombay.]

As to the alleged probable connexion between "the Hindu Gymnosophists and Zoroaster, or the Magi," see p. 504 of Abbe Dubois: *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*: (1906 ed).—M.M.M.]

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in his struggle with the White Huns (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 383), his marriage with a Hindu princess, and, according to Hindu accounts, his founding the dynasty of the Gardhabin kings, was a fresh bond of intimacy. (Wilford: *As. Re.*, ix. 219; Masudi's *Prairies d'Or* II. 191; Reinaud's *Memoir sur l'Inde*, 112: Elliot's *History*, II. 159). In later times, both Naushirvan the Just (531-579) and his grandson Parviz (591-628), were united, by treaties and by the interchange of rich presents, with the rulers of India and Sind.[23] (Masudi's *Prairies d'Or*, II, 201). In connection with these treaties it is interesting to note that Naushirvan's embassy to Pulikesi II, the ruler of Badami in the Southern Maratha country, is believed to be the subject of one of the Ajanta Caves paintings, and another of the pictures is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Parviz and the beautiful Shirin. (Furgusson, in Burgess' *Agenta Notes*, 92). According to one account, early in the seventh century, a large body of Persians landed in Western India, and, from one of their leaders, whom Wilford believed to have been a son of Khosru Parviz, the family of Udeypur is supposed to have sprung. (Gladwin's *Ain-e-Akbari*, II.81: Dr Hunter, *As. Res.* VI. 8: Wilford, *As. Res.* ix. 233: Pinsep, *Jour. Ben. As. Soc.*, IV. 684). Wilford opined that the Konkanasth Brahmans were of the same stock. But, though their origin is doubtful, the Konkanasth are probably older settlers than the Parsis. Besides, by treaties, Western India and Persia were at this time very closely connected by trade. Kosmas Indikopleustes (545) found the Persians among the chief traders in the Indian Ocean, (Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, LXXXVIII. 446: Yule's *Cathay*, I. CLXXVII—CLXXIX), and his statement, that the Kalyan Christians (Yule's *Cathay*,

23. [*Sindh*: We learn from the well-known Ebn Haukal, who lived in the 10th century, that a part of Sindh was, at one time, owned by Parsis. The *Shahnameh*, of Firdousi, also mentions 'Sind' in various places.—M.M.M.]

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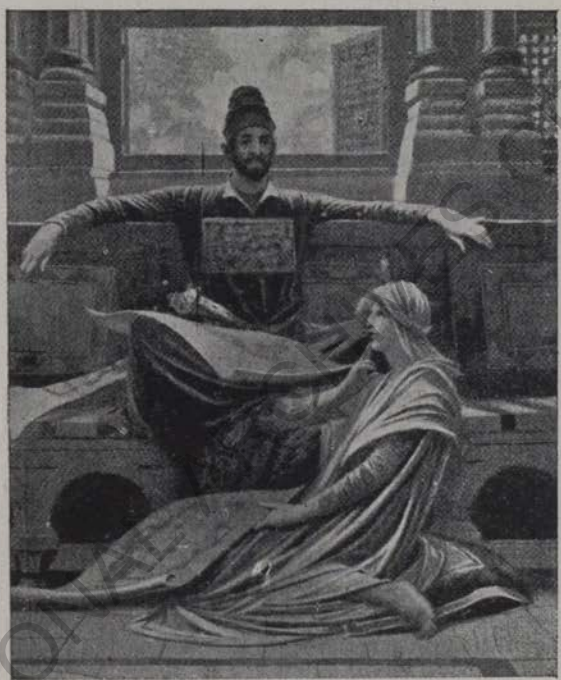

Khusru and Shirin

"One of the romantic careers of Persian history is that of Khusru Parvez (the Conqueror, Chosroes II., 590-628.) Between 608 and 619 he overran Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, carried off the Holy Cross from Jerusalem to Ctesiphon, and occupied Egypt. ..... He was the hero also of a great love-tale, 'Khusru and Shirin,' which in the hands of the classic poet Nizami, (1141-1203), founded a school of Persian romantic verse."—Walter Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, vol. II, p. 984, "The Persians."

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I. CLXXI) had a Persian bishop, points to close relations between Thana and the Persian Gulf. Shortly after the time of Kosmas, the leadership in trade passed from the Romans to the Persians, and fleets from India and China visited the Persian Gulf. (Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, I-II. CCCLXXXIII.—IV). It was this close connection between Western India and Persia that, in 638 (H. 16), led the Khalif Umar (634-643) to found the city of Basrah, partly for purposes of trade and partly to prevent the Indian princes sending help to the Persians, (Troyer's *Rajatarangini* II. 449, and *Chronique de Tabari* III. 401), and, in the same year (638-639) he prompted despatch of a fleet to ravage the Thana coasts (Elliot's *History*, I. 415). Both Tabari (838-921) and Masudi (900-950) state that the district around Basrah and the country under the king of Oman were considered by the Arabs to be part of India (*Chronique de Tabari*, III. 401: *Prairies d'Or*, IV. 225), and in the seventh century, it is noticed that Indians were settled in the chief cities of Persia, enjoying the free exercise of their religion. (Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, I.-II. CCCLXXXIV). It is worthy of note that, from the sixth century, when they began to take a leading part in the trade of the East, Persians not only visited India, but sailed in their own ships as far as China. (Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, I-II. CCCLXXXIII). About the time when they came to India, the Parsis[24] were

24. [Major Sykes, in a Paper read by him in 1906 before the Society of Arts of England, on "The Parsis of Persia" says: "*Parsa*,—the *Persis* of Greeks, now known as Fars,—the Arabs could not pronounce the letter 'P,'—is one province out of several which, from ancient times, composed the Persian Empire; but, because that province gave birth to the mighty Achæmenian dynasty, which, carried its arms to distant Greece, its meaning was extended to include the whole nation, just as the 'Angles' have given their name to 'England' To-day, the term *Parsi*, if applied to a man, signifies an inhabitant of Fars; and, if to a tongue, it means the Persian language. Finally, '*Parsi*' is the term used, in India, to denote the refugees from Pars, *i.e.*, the Zoroastrians who, in Persia

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settled in China as missionaries, traders, and refugees. Anquetil du Perron, (*Zend Avesta*, I. cccxxxvi), speaks of Persians going to China in the seventh century with a son of Yazdezard. According to Wilford (*As. Res.* IX. 235) another party of refugees went in 750, when the dynasty of the Abbasid Khalifs began to rule. In 758, the Arabs and Persians were so strong in Canton that they stirred up a riot and plundered the city. (Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, I-II. cccLxxxv). In 846, there is a mention of the *Muhapas*, or Mobeds, in Canton, (Yule's *Cathay*, I. xcvi), and, about sixty years later, Masudi notices that there were many fire-temples in China. (*Prairies d'Or*, IV. 86). [*Vide* p. 247, foot-note 3, of vol. xiii, Part I of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 'Thana District.']

[Referring to the recent excavations in Pataliputra, in India, following close upon those at Taxala, it may be mentioned that Dr J. J. Modi delivered a lecture before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on March 3, 1916. Only the mere gist can be here reproduced from the *Times of India* of March 4:

During 1915, attention was called to the great question of the influence of ancient Iran upon India by two great archæological excavations. The first is by Sir John Marshall at Taxala, where he excavated what he thinks to be an old Zoroastrian fire-temple. Dr Modi visited this excavation in July 1915, and gave his impressions in the *Times of India* of 11th August 1915. The second is by Dr Spooner at Pataliputra, or Palibothra of Magasthenes, Kusumpura or Pushyapura of the ancient kingdom of Magadha, modern Patna. It is financed by Mr Ratan Jamshedji Tata. This excavation has led Dr Spooner to some literary inquiries, the result of which he

are usually called '*Gabr*,'—this term now signifies an 'infidel, but, originally, it meant 'a man,' as for instance, Gabriel, "the man of God." '*Gabr*' appears, in English literature, as '*Gaiour*,' and in Moore's poems, as '*Ghebre*.' See, also, foot-note 46, *post*—M.M.M.]

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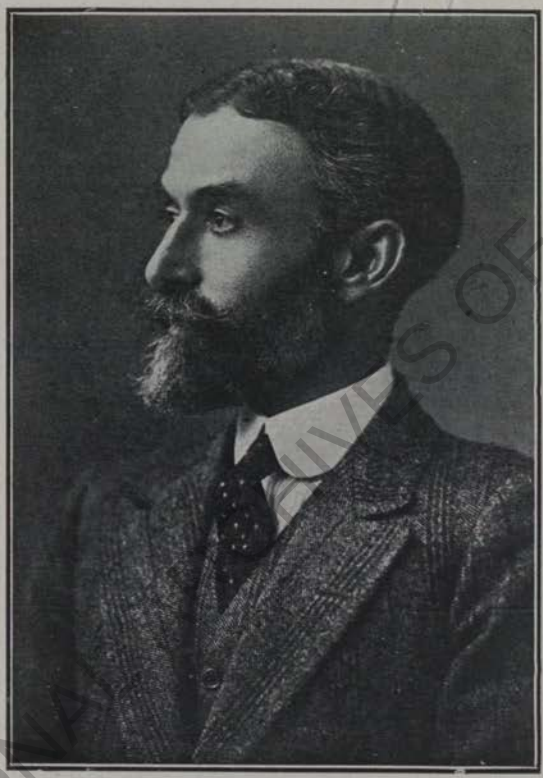

Sir Ratan J. N. Tata, Kt.

"The romance of Dr. Brainerd Spooner's discoveries at Kumrahar, near Patna, has peculiar interest for Parsis. No-one dreamt that results would follow which could issue in a paper with the title ["Zoroastrian Period in Indian History"] I have given to my lecture. It was therefore without any idea of emphasising the part the Parsi community played in the early history of India that Sir Ratan Tata offered the munificent donation of Rs. 20,000 a year for the excavations of the site where the great King Asoka had his capital.....Now the spade thus unconsciously directed by a Parsi tells us that the Parsis were only returning to a land in which they had wielded vast influence a thousand years earlier"—The Rev. Dr Hope Moulton.

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Dr. D B. Spooner

Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India.

Bachelor of Arts in Classical Philology, at Stanford University, California: Student of Sanskrit in the Graduate School of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and in the Government Sanskrit College of Benares, India: Travelling Fellow of Harvard University: Ph. D. in Indic Philology, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and of the University of Berlin: Member of the Phi Beta Kappa of Stanford University: Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: Honorary Member of the Calcutta Historical Society, etc. etc,.

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Fa Hsien at the Ruins of Asoka's Palace, A. D. 407.

(From Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, Vol. I., p. 138)

"The Chinese Buddhist monk Fa Hsien was the first of a long series of monastic visitors from China to India between the fifth and eighth centuries. In 407 he visited Pataliputra (Patna) with three followers, and has left an account of the Palace of Asoka which was then standing."—*History of the Nations.*

"..... The long buried palace when it came to light was such as to suggest that the builder was Asoka's grand father, Chandragupta, and that the plan was to some large extent copied from the famous palace of Dariusat Persepolis."—The Rev. Dr Hope Moulton. "The very extensive excavations, which the Archæological Department have been carrying on at Pataliputra since the commencement of 1913, have centred mainly at a site in apparent correspondence with what the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Thsang, describes as the Old Terrace, adjacent to the modern village of Kumrahar...."—Dr D. B. Spooner.

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has embodied in a Paper in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society of England under the title "The Zoroastrian period of Indian History." The Paper has, as it were, "thrown a bomb-shell in the peaceful camp of oriental scholars."

The object of Dr Modi's paper was to show there are many facts or evidences which point to the conclusion that, at one time, Iran had greater influence—even religious influence—upon India than ordinarily thought of, and that, therefore, there is a great likelihood of Dr Spooner's theory being generally correct, though some of his points may be wrong. Dr Modi says: The name 'Pataliputra' means "the son of Patali, *i.e.* the trumpt flower." It is spoken of as "Indian Florence." The name of the previous site, Kusumpura, also meant "the city of flowers." The Mouryan kings had their capital here. Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, while describing it in the time of Chandragupta, speaks of it as "girded with wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows...." The people, in whose country this city is situated, are the most distinguished in all India and are called the Prassi. The story of the recent excavations at Pataliputra,—the site of which was determined by that great Indian scholar of Buddhism, Col. Woddell, about 25 years ago,—is interestingly described by Dr Spooner in the Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India for the years 1912-13, 1913-14. He has discovered the remains,—one cannot perhaps even call them ruins as most of the structure is lost,—of a hundred-columned palace or throne-room, corresponding to the Persepolitan one of Darius the Great. As far as the above reports say, one may not speak of it as hundred-columned, but only as eighty-columned. But evidence of the 9th row of columns has been discovered since, and the 10th row making the building centi-columned is likely to be discovered. The question of the influence of ancient Persia

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over India, and that especially on its architecture, has long since been known; and, among others, Mr Vincent Smith has, in his admirable History of India, familiarized us well with the question. But Dr Spooner now advances further, and shows that the influence was much greater than up to now thought of by scholars, and it was also in the line of religion. Dr Spooner points out a wave of Persian advance in India, even in times anterior to Chandragupta,—even up to Orissa and Assam. He says that the Yavanas, mentioned in the temple records of Jaganath, as invading Orissa between 458 and 421 B.C., were a "Zoroastrian tribe from some part of the Persian Realm." Thus, there were Zoroastrians in India in pre-Achæmenian times. Have we Iranian evidences in support of this statement?—queries Dr Modi, and his answer is: Yes, we have. The *Vendidad*,—which even Darmesteter, who brought down to a later date the antiquity of the *Avesta*, placed in Achæmenian and anterior times, and which scholars like Dr Haug and the present-day writers, like that of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' place in the 12th century B.C.,—includes India in the list of the 16 countries of Iran. As Harlez says these were the countries where Iranian Zoroastrianism prevailed. Thus, some form of Zoroastrianism may be traced in India even long before the Achæmenians. Firdausi and other Mahomedan writers of history, on the authority of previous writers, point to the rule over India, now and then, of pre-Achæmenian kings. The *Vendidad* speaks of India as Hapta Hindu, the Vedic counterpart of which is Sapta Hindu, *i.e.* the seven rivers of the Punjab, the fact being that, at first, there were seven branches of the Indus, two of which latterly united with the others, thus giving us the five rivers of the Punjab. The Indian or the Hindu name of India should therefore be 'Sindustan,' and not Hindustan which is a Persian name,—says Dr Modi. Greece and the Westerners know India from its Iranian.

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name *Hapta* Hindu, and not from its indigenous name *Sapta* Sindhu. The Biblical name Hadeu or Hidou (Esther) also comes from the Persian form. Dr Modi submitted that that fact was very important and suggestive. That even the people of the country should know their country by its old Iranian name and not its Indian name, suggests that the Iranians must have had a great influence on India. Dr Modi, therefore, argued that all these evidences lead to show that Zoroastrianism had some strong influence long before Chandragupta, and long before the Achæmenians, and that, of the influence of the Ahæmenians themselves, there seems to be little doubt. Among the different evidences for that fact, an important one, adduced by him, is that of coins. The old punch-marked coins of India were long thought, by scholars like Pandit Bhagvanlal Indarjee, to have had an influence from Iran. From some Pahlavi and Persian works, we learn that King Gustasp of Persia had sent some of his relatives as missionaries to India to spread Zoroastrianism there. Traditions, recorded in some later books like the *Changragach-nameh*, the *Desatir*, and *Dabistan*, support this belief. One Changragacha, whose name Dr Mody believes to be the Persian form of Chandragupta,—(Pahlavi scholars could have no objection to the equation of Changragacha and Chandragupta),—and Byasa (Vias) are said to have gone to Bactria (Balkh) to discuss this religion and they are said to have returned convinced. They are said to have made 80,000 Brahmins Zoroastrians. Of course, warns Dr Modi, one must not take as gospel-truth everything that those later writers say, but one can take the broad fact that it is the statements of authoritative works that this tradition of later works supports. The author of the *Changragach-nameh* was also the author of the Persian *Zarthosht-nameh*: and the learned lecturer added, *en passant*, that a statement of this author of the story of Zoroaster laughing at birth, instead of weeping

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like all children, is mentioned even by an old writer like Pliny and the writer of the Scandinavian *Eddas*; so that, these later writers of traditional matters had some older authorities for these materials].[25]

It is scarcely probable that there could have been only one migration of the Persians. There must have been many such, at different periods, according as the spirit of persecution was more or less keen amongst the conquerors. The traditions concerning this subject are vague.[26] We are in absolute ignorance as to the mode of their departure, and the number of those who, in despair, had to quit the Persian Gulf. The only hint or indication that we can get at, concerning this subject, is that contained in a book entitled *Kisseh-e-Sanjan*,[27] written, to-

25. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

26. [For an excellent, exhaustive, and interesting chapter on the subject of the "Exodus of the Parsis," see Pallonji Burjorji Desai's "*History of the Kings of Persia : A complete chronicle of events of that ancient country, from the pre-historic times down to the settlement of the Parsis in India:*" (Printed, in 1895, by the Standard Printing Works, Bombay), vol. II, part 14, pages 369 to 422. These interesting volumes are accessible only to readers of Gujarati, being written in that language. A summary of this chapter will be found in the shape of a lecture before the *Gnan Prasarak Mandli* (=Society for the spread of Knowledge), and published in the *Rast Goftar*, weekly Gujarati newspaper, of 27th March, 1892.—M.M.M.]

27. See *Translation from the Persian of Kissah-i-Sanjan, or History of the Arrival and Settlement of the Parsis in India*, by E.B. Eastwick, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 189. [The account is poetic. The basis of Anquetil du Perron's sketch is ascribed to this *Kisseh*.—M.M.M.]

As for us, we have followed the order of events such as it is presented by Mr B.B. Patell, in his admirable work, the *Parsi Prakash*, and the interesting *resume* of Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka. See Bomanji Byramji Patell's *Parsi Prakash: A Record of important Events in the growth of the Parsi community in Western India: Chronologically arranged from the date of their Immigration into India to the year 1860 A. D.*—(Bombay 1878-1888; 1,053 pages (in Guja-

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wards the year 1600, by a Mazdien priest, called Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana, who dwelt in Naosari. According to

rati), and Dosabhai Framji Karaka: *History of the Parsis*, in 2 vols (London, 1884).

[On the 13th of December 1915, exactly 1200 years have lapsed,—according to the traditional reckoning,—since the Parsis first came to India and settled in Gujarat. This event is currently believed to have happened on the 2nd day of the 4th month of the year 85 of their era of Yezdejard.]

Kisseh-e-Sanjan: Literally means 'Story or the History or Sanjan.' It is a Persian book, written in verse. The couplet, at the end of the poem, gives its date. Dr J. J. Modi, in his *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*, says : "This poem is embodied in some copies of the collection of miscellaneous writings, collected by Darab Hormuzdyar, and known as 'Darab Hormuzdyar's Revayet'. The oldest copy, [belonging to Manockji Rustomji Unvala, written in two volumes, the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* being in vol.II, pp. 542b-548b], of this Revayet, in which I find it embodied,] is written, in 1692 A. D. (=1061, Yazdajardi), by Darab Hormuzdyar himself. The author of this *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*.....describes his descent and his authorities for the story.....Eastwick has committed several errors in his translation. He gives the name of the author as 'Bahram'. This is evidently a mistake, because his name is twice given correctly by him on p. 170, II.17,29 .....Again, what is more important, is this; that it, (the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*), shows that the author was indebted for his materials to an older account, and also to what he had heard from his elders. He had followed these sources faithfully, and had submitted even his work to his teacher [Dastur Hoshang] for approval. This shows that this treatise is, to a great extent, authentic." After giving some account of the treatise, Dr Modi proceeds to describe the events referred to therein. This part of the narrative enables us to fix the dates of the following events: (1) the flight of the Parsis to the mountainous district of Kohistan: (2) their sojourn in the isle of Hormaz: (3) their emigration to India, and landing on the shores, (in the Gulf of Cambay in Kathiawad) of Div: (4) and their landing at Sanjan..... Dr Modi then proceeds to fix these dates, and, having fixed the dates of events up to the time of their landing at Sanjan, he examines the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* a little further, for the date of some subsequent events mostly with reference to the history of the *first* sacred Fire. The thread of the narrative, of Dr Modi, from the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* and another

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this writer, Diu,[28] a small town, on the Gulf of Cambay to the south of the Kathiawar coast, was the first port

work,—the *Kisseh-i-Zartushtian-i-Hindustan*,—will be taken up by me later in the body of this English Edition.

The *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* was written, in verses, in the month of Farvardin of the Yazdejardi year 969 (=1600 A. D.) in Naosari, by one Behman *bin* Kaekobad *bin* Dastur Hormazdyar Sanjana "in his old age." In it he informs the readers that he bases his narratives on what was communicated to him by "mobeds and old people", and by "a learned Dastur". So that, the narrative is based on tradition. In 1831, Ervad Aspandiarji Rabadi published a book entitled *Hadesha-nameh*, in the Gujarati language, and in which he has embodied the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, and *Kisseh-i-Kaus-va-Afshad*, (also in Persian). According to the Preface of the *Hadesha-nameh* of Rabádi, the translation of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* was made after collating several ("ten or twelve') copies of the above-named two books. An English translation has been made of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*.

For a very critical examination, by Palanji Barjorji Desai,—author of several works of Zoroastrian history,—of the contents of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, see the *Zarthushti* journal, vol. IV. He notes that the Parsis do not possess any other books, as old as this, emanating from the pen of a Parsi of India.—M. M. M.]

28. *Diu or Div*: Portuguese possession [in India]. Latitude, 20° 43' 20" North; longitude, 71.°2' 30" East—at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, to the south of the Gujarat Peninsula. Its length, from east to west, is six miles and a half, and its greatest extent, from north to south, is one mile. It has a small but very fine harbour. The climate is dry and stifling, the soil barren, water scarce, and agriculture much neglected. Its principal products are wheat, millet, *nachni*, *bajri*, cocoa-nut, and some kinds of fruit. The population of Diu consists of about 10,765 inhabitants, of whom 419 are Christians, 9,575 Hindus, and 771 Mahomedans. At its most flourishing period, the number had risen, it is said, to nearly 50,000. Now there are not more than 3,107 houses, very poor and uncomfortable for the most part. In fact, the commerce of Diu is now ruined. The resources of the inhabitants consisted, formerly, in weaving and dyeing. Fishing is their only occupation now. Some bold minds attempt trading with the Mozambique coast. The appearance of Diu is interesting. The fortress, rebuilt after the siege of 1545 by Dom Joan de Castro, is imposing in appearance. To the west, the town extends divided into two quarters, that of the Christian and that of the Pagans. Of the fine edifices of Diu, there still remains the college of the Jesuits turned into a Cathedral church. Of

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where the refugees landed. Here they dwelt for nearly twenty years, at the end of which they sought for another residence. There is a mysterious passage in the *Kisseh-e-Sanjan*, upon this second immigration, but it scarcely explains it: "An old Dastoor [=high-priest], who had applied himself to the study of the science of predicting from the stars, declared that they should leave this place and seek another residence. All rejoiced on hearing these words, and immediately set sail for Gujarat." Scarcely had they left the coast of Diu when a storm burst upon them, and the Persians believed themselves hopelessly lost. They then implored the aid of Him for whom they had abandoned all, promising to light the sacred Fire as soon as they should have touched the shores of India. He heard the prayer of His faithful children. The tempest fell, and they were able to land at Sanjan, [29] twenty-five miles south of

the other convents, that of Saint Francois serves as a military hospital, and that of Saint Jean-de-Dieu as a cemetery, while that of Saint Dominique is in ruins. (See W. W. Hunter: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iii. p. 171.)

["Diu is an island, (from which fact the name is derived,—*dvipa*, —Sanskrit for an island), off the northern extremity of Gujarat,"—V. Ball's English edition of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, p. 16.—M.M.M.]

29. *Sanjan*: A small village of the Thànà district in the Bombay Presidency. It was formerly an important town known to the Portuguese, and called, after them, under the name of *Saint John*. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. iii., p. 174.)

[*Sanjan* is now a small town on the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway, and 90 miles from Bombay. Dr J. J. Modi read a Paper, on the 23rd of August 1900, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (see its *Journal*, vol. XXI. pp. 1-18), and has since embodied it in his brochure entitled *Asiatic Papers*, a collection of his Papers read before that Society. The object of that Paper is to "ascertain whether Sanjan is the 'Sindan' of the Arab geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries, as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (vol. XV,—Thànà) and whether it is the town of 'Hanjaman' referred to in the three Silhara [copper-plate] grants of the 10th and the 11th centuries." He thinks that the town of Sindan, referred

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Damman.[30] The territory of Sanjan was, at that time,

to by the Arab geographers, is not the Konkan Sanjan, but the town of Sindan in Cutch. In order to support his own theory,—that Sanjan was so called, in 785 A. D., by the first Parsi fugitive-settlors on a piece of land allotted to them by the Jai Rana,—the then ruler,—and the locality of which the Hindus called 'Hanjaman,'—Dr Modi thoroughly examines the internal evidence available from the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*. He says: ".....One may say that it is very likely that they named their new place of abode, after the town of Sanjan in Khorassan (in Persia) whose name was fresh in their mind." He similarly argues in regard to the name of 'Nausari.' The wording of the three copper-plate grants of lands (in 1018, 1026, and 1094 A. D.) is utilized by him in support of his suggestion as to the origin of the name 'Sanjan,' as the 'city of Hanyamana' is mentioned in one grant, 'town of Hamyamana' in the second, and 'town of Hanjamana' in the third. Reference, in the first of these grants, to three classes of the priestly class, and some-what similar references in the other two is, opines Dr Modi, to the three grades of the priestly class (of the Parsis) referred to in the *Sad Dar*, because the Parsi immigrants mostly consisted of the priestly class. "Now, the question arises,"—queries Dr Modi,—"if the word 'Hanjamana,'—in the Silhara grants,—referred to the new Parsi town of Sanjan, as pointed out in the *Gazetteer*, Why was the town so called? What does it signify?" He then traces the derivative of the name: "Hanjamana is an Avestic word, meaning 'an assembly.' It comes from the Avesta, *han*, Sanscrit *san*, Latin *con*, Greek *syn*, meaning 'together,' and *jam* Sanskrit *gam* 'to go.' The literal meaning would be, "a place where people go together," *i.e.* meet. If the word could be rendered into Sanskrit, its equivalent would be *sam gam, i.e.* 'a place of junction or meeting.' It is now used in the sense of 'assembly.'" "How are we then to account for the two names, 'Hanjamana' and 'Sanjan'.?" He adduces two theories: (1) The Parsis may have named their new town 'Sanjan,' and possibly knew it also by the name of 'Hanjamana,' that is 'assembly', because all the emigrants met together there. (2) He suggests that 'Hanjamana' was the original name given to the town by the Parsis, and 'Sanjan,' was its laterly corrupted, or Sanskritised, form of 'Hanjamana,' which would be, at present, 'Sangama' in Sanskrit. The Avesta '*h*' becomes '*s*' in Sanskrit.

Travernier, in his *Travels in India*, (English edition by Ball; (Mac Millan and Co., London, 1889), writes 'St. Jean" for 'Sanjan.' Ball, in his footnote, on p. 6. says: "St. Jean is the port in Gujarat

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subject to the sagacious Jade Rana,[31] to whom the Persians sent a Dastoor, with presents, to obtain per-

called Sajan or Sanjan, the Sindam of Arab writers, corrupted by the Portuguese into San Gens, and by the English into St. John's. (See Yule and Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s. v., St. John's, p. 591)". —M.M.M.]

30. *Damman*: or *Damaun*: A Portuguese possession in the Bombay Presidency, about one hundred miles to the north of Bombay. Its superficial area is eighty-two square miles, comprising the *pargana* [sub-district] of Nagar Haveli. The population consists of about 40,980 souls. The settlement is composed of two distinct parts; Damman and the *pargana* of Nagar Haveli, separated by a territory belonging to the English and by a railroad running through Bombay, Baroda and Central India, hence the name of the railway. The town was sacked by the Portuguese in 1532, then re-built by the natives, and re-taken by the Portuguese in 1558, and made by them one of their settlements in India. They have converted the mosque into a church, and have built eight others. Commerce flourished there before the fall of the Portuguese power in India, and extended even as far as the African coasts, where ships carried the cotton stuffs manufactured at Damman. From 1817 to 1837 the trade in opium, brought from Karachi and imported into China, was prosperous; but, since the conquest of Sind by the English, the transport of opium has been prohibited, and Damman has thus been deprived of its greatest source of wealth. The soil is moist and fertile, especially in the *pargana* of Nagar Haveli; rice, wheat and tobacco are grown there; but, in spite of the facilities for agriculture, only a twentieth part of the territory is cultivated. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. iii, p. 21.)

31. The Parsis call him *Jade Rana*. Dr Wilson suggests that he was doubtless *Jayadeva* or *Vana Raja*, of Anhillawad, who reigned in Gujarat from 745 to 806.

[J. J. Modi, in his *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*, (Fort Printing Press, Bombay: 1905), says:— "I think it is more probable that the name 'Jadi-Rana' or 'Jai-Rana' (*i.e.*, Jadi or Jana king) is the name of the local ruler of Sanjan, and not that of the then king of Gujarat, because the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* says that the Parsis landed at Sanjan and went to its ruler. So, I think, what the writer meant was the local ruler, and not the king of Gujarat, whose capital was at Pattan, more than 150 miles away from Sanjan. Jadi Rana, or Jai-Rana, seems rather to be the title of the local ruler than the name of the then king of the whole country of Gujarat. It is an appellation like that of 'Rao' or 'Thakur.'"—M.M.M.]

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mission to settle in his country, and to inquire what conditions would be imposed upon them. The Dastoor, approaching the Rana, invoked blessings upon him, and, after having explained to him the reasons that had determined the fugitives to quit their fatherland, he narrated their misfortunes, and asked, for his countrymen, authoritative permission to settle in Sanjan. The prince, it is said, struck by the warlike and distinguished appearance of these foreigners, at first conceived some fear, and desired to know something of their usages and customs.

During their sojourn at Diu the Persians had learnt too sufficiently well the spirit and character of the Hindus, and therefore were able to answer his questions in a satisfactory manner. The most learned amongst them drew up 16 *Shloka*, [32] or distichs, in which they summarized the duties enjoined by their religion :—

1. We are worshippers of Ahura-Mazda [the Supreme Being], of the sun, and of the five elements.

2. We observe silence during bath, at prayers, while making offerings to the fire, and when eating.

3. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers in our religious ceremonies.

32. [There are several manuscripts, of these "Shloka," in Sanscrit and in Gujarati. In the *Indian Antiquary*, (July 5, 1872), p. 214, we find a version of it, according to the translation prepared by Dastoor Hoshang Jamasp, the late high-priest of Poona. The author compares it to another, more ancient one, then in the hands of Dr Wilson, and points out numerous divergences; besides, according to Dr Wilson himself, there are no two manuscripts, either in Gujarati or in Sanscrit, similar in wording, though identical so far as the substance is concerned. These *Shloka* have been reproduced, in Gujarati character, in the 13th of June, 1903, number of the *Akhbare-Soudagar*, lately a daily Gujarati newspaper of Bombay, once owned and edited by an enterprising Parsi, Nànàbhoy R. Chichgur. Another copy of these *Shloka* will be found in Dustoor Aspandiarji Kàmdin's book called *Kadim Tarikh Parseoni Kasar*, published in 1826. I learn that none of the Bombay libraries possess a copy of this book, but that one was recently secured by the late Mr K. R. Cama.—M. M. M.]

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4. We honour the cow.

5. We wear the sacred garment, the *Sudreh* or the shirt, the *Kusti* or girdle for the waist, and the two-fold cap.

6. We rejoice ourselves with songs and musical instruments on marriage occasions.

7. We permit our women to wear ornaments and use perfumes.

8. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities and especially in excavating tanks and wells.

9. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies to all beings, male or female.

10. We practise ablutions with *gaomutra*, (one of the secretions of the cow.)

11. We wear the sacred thread when praying and eating.

12. We feed the sacred fire with incense.

13. We offer up prayers five times a day.

14. We religiously preserve conjugal fidelity and purity.

15. We celebrate annual religious ceremonies in honour of our ancestors.

16. We observe the greatest precautions with regard to our wives during their confinement and at certain periods of the months.[33]

It is interesting to notice that, at this juncture, the Zoroastrians showed themselves singularly skilful and shrewd, avoiding all mention of the true basis of their religion, and only setting forth certain ceremonies, of little importance, but which seemed of a nature likely to win the goodwill of the Rana. Anxious to find some place of

33. [The mere gist of each of the *Sloka* (or *Shloka*) has been given here by the author. In an Appendix, affixed to this chapter, I have reproduced an English translation of all the *Shloka* in extenso.—M. M. M.]

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repose, the Parsis were acquainted with the Hindus, their susceptibilities of caste and religion too well not to have their conciliation at heart; and that is why they formulated their answers with a subtlety and skill which won the favour of the Rana. He therefore permitted them to reside in the town, on condition: that they adopted the language of the country, and ceased to speak that of their ancestors, that their women should dress according to the Hindu mode, that the men should no longer bear weapons, and should perform their marriage ceremonies at night, according to Hindu custom. What could the unfortunate exiles, thirsting for peace and rest, do but accept these conditions? And this they did. They settled down in a vast tract of land not far from Sanjan, and, with full hearts, offered prayers to Hormuzd. They resolved to fulfil the vow they had made at the time of their memorable voyage from Diu to Sanjan to build an altar for lighting the sacred Fire. The Hindus, far from opposing this, helped to build the temple (721), and from that time forward, Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies began to be performed on Indian soil. [34] (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I. p. 2.)

[In his foot-note 2 on page 1, Bomanji Byramji Patel, in vol. I of his *Parsi Prakash*, states as follows: "The exact date of the Parsis landing in Sanjan has been given on page 149 of the late Broach Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji's book entitled *Kadim Tarikh Parseoni Kasar*, (= "The Intercalation by the Kadmi Parsis'). This book was published in 1826, in connection with the great con-

34. [*Iran-Shah*, (the term used by the author of *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*), is the name of this most sacred, or rather, most ancient, Fire in India, and which was consecrated at Sanjan. It is even now known by that name of *Iran Shah*. As will be noticed later on, this identical sacred fire is at Udavada or Udavara (another way of pronouncing the name) at the present day (1916). For a succinct, up-to-date history, by me, of this Iran-Shah, see *post*.—M. M. M.]

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troversy, called the 'Kabiseh,' at that time carried on in Bombay. It was, at that time, considered one of the highly reliable books in connection with the controversy on behalf of the Shahanshahi Parsis. On page 149 of this book the exact date of the Parsis landing in Sanjan is given, *viz.*, the 2nd day (*Behman*) of the 4th month (*Tir*), Yezdejardi year 85; and, the 9th day of the *Shud* period of the Hindu month of *Shravan*, Friday, of the Gujarati Hindu year 772 [A. D. 717]. This has been the day which the Parsis have, hitherto, accepted as the date on which Parsis landed in Sanjan. But, in 1870, Mr K. R. Cama, after a very searching and exhaustive calculation, pointed out that this day and year was incorrect. This he does in his book entitled *Yezdejardi Tarikh*,(=the "Era of Yezdejard"), (printed in the Daftar Ashkara Printing Press). He points out that the Hindu date, as above fixed by Dastur Kamdin, and the Parsi date, as also given by the Dustur, do not correspond. Mr Cama shews this by exhaustive proofs and instances, and says that there has been a mistake in arriving at Dastur Kamdin's Parsi date, and that this mistake has originated from the Parsi 2nd *roj* (day) having been inserted for the 4th Parsi *mah* (month). So that, says Mr Cama, the date should be *roj* 13th, and *mah* 2nd. As reason for fixing this as the more correct date, Mr Cama says that the Parsi day, which he fixes, corresponds with the Hindu day, the 13th of the *Sudh* period of the Hindu month of Shravan of Gujarati Hindu year 992; and that the fixing of this date does not create much, or any appreciable, difference. In the same book, Mr Cama argues: that even if the Hindu date and the Parsi date are accepted as correct, and as given in Dustur Kamdin's above-mentioned book, and that if, on that assumption, we calculated the exact date, (the year), on which these Hindu and Parsi dates, (of Dustur Kamdin,) tally, then we find (says Mr Cama) that that date, is the year 992

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of the Gujarati Hindus and the year 305 of Yezdejard [936 A.D]. So that, one must accept as correct either the first-mentioned year 716 A.D. or the last mentioned year 936 A.D." On page 837 of the *Parsi Prakash*, vol. I. Mr Patel states, in his Appendix to the work:—"A. D. 839.—An old manuscript copy of the *Kisseh-e-Sanjan*, in the hand-writing of Dustur Rustamji Tehemulji Mirza, of Udvara, and dated A. D. 1816 (Hindu year 1872) is to be seen on the file of papers relating to the Udvara Anjuman. In this copy, the date of the Parsis first landing in Sanjan is given as "Samvant (Hindu year) 895 [*i. e.*, A. D. 839] Parsi *roj* (day) first, *mah* (month) the fourth, and Sunday." But more anon, when dealing with the subject of the *Kabisah*.][35]

[B. B. Patel, in foot-note 5, on page 1 of his work, says:—"In some places the date give of the consecration of the *Atash-Beheram* at Sanjan is the 9th Parsi *roj* (day) of the 9th Parsi *mah* (month) of Hindu year 777, and, in other places, the 26th day of the 2nd month of that year. But, at the present day, the Parsis celebrate the anniversary of the consecration on the 9th *roj* of the 9th Parsi month "[35].]

For nearly three hundred years, the Parsis lived peacefully at Sanjan; but with the efflux of time their numbers having increased, some migrated to other places: in the north, to Cambay,[36] Ankleswar,[37] Variav, Van-

35. [These notes have been inserted here by me. See, also, J. J. Modi's *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*. In this reprint of his Paper in (July 1903 number of the *East and West* journal of B. M. Malabari,) Dr Modi deals, among other matters, with the question of the Date of the Parsis landing at Sanjan.—M.M.M.]

36. *Cambay* or *Khambat*: Capital of the district of that name, a province of Gujarat, down the Gulf of Cambay, to the north of the estuary of the Mahi. Population (in 1872,) 33,709. See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. ii. p. 334.

37. *Ankleshvar*: Capital of the sub-division of that name in the

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kaner and Surat; in the south to Thana,[38] and to Chaul,[39]—places still to be found on the map of India. Their first migration from Sanjan seems to have been to Cambay (942-997). Several considerations attracted them to this place, and they seem to have prospered there.[40] The settlement of Variav seems to have been as

district of Bharoocb. Population (in 1872), 9,414 inhabitants. (See *Imp Gaz. of India*, vol. i, p. 203.)

38. *Thana.*—The principal town of the British district of the same name in the Bombay Presidency. The territory, which formed part of the States of the Peishwa, was annexed by the English Government in 1818 on the overthrow of Baji Rao. The population of the District was 847,424 inhabitants in 1872, including 3,920 Parsis. Thana is 26 miles north of Bombay. It possesses a Railway station on the G. I. P. Ry., and a tiny port. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. ix., p. 34.)

39. [*Chaul*: "Zakariya-al-Kazwani has it that, in the 13th century, Chaul (now called 'Revdanda'), was inhabited by a number of Parsis. There are two towns of that name of Chaul. One is that referred to by Dr Da Cunha in his Paper on "Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul," in vol. XII of the B. B. R. A. Society's Journal (pp. 51—162). The other is near Dharampore, in the Bulsar district. The town of Chaul, referred to in some of the old documents of the town of Naosari, seems to be the latter." J. J. Modi visited the first Chaul, (*i. e.* Revdanda), in 1904, "to find if there were any remains of the fire-temples, referred to by Zakariya, but found no vestige of any Parsi population there, in previous times."—M.M.M.]

40. Some Parsis who, since their arrival in India, in 636, had remained in the south of Gujarat, were attracted to the temple of Kumarika Kshetra, on the mouth of the Mahi, (10*th century*.) These new-comers succeeded in commerce, and were followed by others, so that the Parsi element became sufficiently strong to drive the Hindus from the town. Amongst those who fled, there was a certain Kalianrai, who, taking refuge in Surat, acquired a great fortune by trading in pearls. His wealth gained him some importance; so that, later on, he gathered together a band of Rajputs and Kolis, who attacked the Parsis one night, set fire to their houses, and put some to the sword. The rest took to flight. Kalianrai then formed a project to build a town on the ruins of the Parsi colony. (See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.*) [The portions relating to "Parsis" are in vol. IX, Part II ('*Gujarat*') and in vol. XIII, Part I.—M.M.M.]

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old as that of Cambay. A Pahlavi inscription, on the side of the Kanheri Caves, tells us that a certain number of Parsis visited them on the 2nd of December 999, and, according to another similar Pahlavi inscription, other Parsis seem to have visited them on the 5th of November 1021. (41)

We next find the Parsis at Naosari.(42) In 1142, a mobed,(=priest) named Camdin Zarthosht quitted Sanjan, with his family, to perform there some religious ceremonies required by the Zoroastrians of that place. If we follow the authority of a certain manuscript, preserved by the descendants of Meherji Ràná, the celebrated high priest who lived three centuries ago, it was from the

41. The translation of the first inscriptions is due to K.R. Cama in his *Zarthushti Abhyas* (*Studies of the Zoroastrian Religion*), (vol. iii. p. 160); and the second to M. S. Watchha, in the same journal (vol. iv. p. 212). (See *Parsi Prakash*, vol. I. p. 2).

[" *The Kanheri Caves* are near Borivli in the Thana District. Some Parsi visitors had gone there, in the years 999 and 1021 A. D. They have inscribed their names and the years of their visits, in Pahlavi. The Pahlavi Inscriptions are given by K. R. Cama in his Gujarati *Zarthoshti Abhyas*, pp. 99 and 146. He has deciphered the first inscription and given its translation. The late Dastur Dr Jamaspji Minocheherji has, also, deciphered it. Two inscriptions have been also deciphered by the late Mr Muncherji Shapurji Wachha. Anquetil Duperron visited these caves in 1760 A.D. He refers to them in his *Zend Avesta*, but he does not seem to have noted the Pahlvi inscription."—For a discussion on the contents of the Inscriptions and their probable dates, see the Proceedings of the 'Zarthoshti Din-ni-khol Karnari Mandli,' vol II. p. 193.—M. M.M.]

42. *Naosari*: A town in the territory of the Gaekwar of Baroda, on the banks of the Pourna, 12 miles from the sea, 18 from Surat, and 149 from Bombay. Lat. 22° 7' N.; long. 73° 40' E. The population, in 1872, numbered 14,700 inhabitants. Naosari is a very flourishing town; its prosperity depending on the Parsi colony. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. vii., p. 179.)

[J. J. Modi, in his *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*, has handled the subject of the arrival of the sacred Fire at Naosari, and fixes the date for the same.—M.M.M.]

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Parsis that Naosâri received its name.[43] When they arrived there—511 Yezdejardi year—they found the climate as pleasant as that of Mäzanderân, one of the provinces of Persia, and called it Navisàri or Nao-sári.[44] Since then it has been known also as Näosari-Nagmandal, instead of Nagmandal,[45] its old name.

43. [*Nausari*, or *Naosari*: "According to the tradition, the Parsi immigrants, there, named the town' Nao-Sari' *i.e.*, 'New Sari,' because the climate there resembled that of the town of Sari in Persia. The *Gazetteer* says that the story that Navasari got its name from the Parsis is incorrect, as Navsari is shown in Ptolemy's map [as 'Nusaripa.'] But it is probable that the Parsis, finding the name of the place similar to that of a town in Persia, Persianized it a little."—J. J. Modi: *Asiatic Papers*, (1905), p. 209.—From a document, reproduced on p. 2 of *Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, it appears that: (1) Nausari was formerly called 'Nagmandal.' (2) Mobed Kamdin Zarthosht was the *first* to go and settle there in 1142 A.D. (=511 A.Y.) See vol. III, p. 196, of the proceedings of the 'Zarthushti Din-ni khol karnari Mandli.'—M.M.M.]

44. *Sari*:—A fallen town of Tabarestan (Mazanderan). It was here, says Beladori, that the Governor of the province under the Taherides resided. The author of the *Nouzhet*, to indicate the great antiquity of this place, attributes its foundation to Thahomurs. (See also B. de Meynard, *Dict. geo., hist.*, etc., p. 295). It is a ruined city. According to Fraser it had a population of 30,000 inhabitants towards the commencement of the century. D'Anville and Rennell have tried to identify Sari with the ancient Zadra-Karta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where the army of Alexander stopped to sacrifice to the gods. It was here that the great achievements of the heroic times of Persia are supposed to have been accomplished. Feridoon, a legendary hero of the Persians, is supposed to be buried under the threshold of a mosque, which is erected on the site of a fire-temple. Sari is surrounded by immense gardens, and the country around is covered with mulberry trees, cotton-plants, sugar-cane, and rice-fields. It has a portion on the Caspian Sea, at the mouth of the Tedjun called Farahabad, '*the abode of joy*,' founded by Shah Abbas. Pietro della Valle speaks of it as the principal city of Mazanderan.

45. [According to B. B. Patel and the late Kharshedji N. Seervai,—both of whom had assisted in the compilation of the *Bombay Gazetteer*,—'Nagmandal' means snake-land.—M. M. M.]

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From the narrations of different travellers it would seem that the Parsis had settled in a great many cities of Upper India; but it is impossible to say whether these came from Western India or from Persia. A Mahomedan traveller of the tenth century, Al Isthakhri, mentions several parts of India as being occupied by the *Guebres*,[46] which is the name given, by Mahomedan writers, to the Parsis. An unexceptionable testimony of their presence at Dehra Dun (1079) is furnished to us in the attack of Ibrahim the Ghaznevid against a colony of fire-worshippers living in that place. Similarly, we find the Parsis in the Punjab before 1178, if we are to believe the tradition of a voyage made in that year by a Parsi priest named Mahyar. He had come from Uch, a town situated on the conflux of the five rivers of the Punjab, to Seistan in

46. [*Guebre: Gabr*: or *Gabar:* Kavasji Dinshaw Kyas, in his *Travels in Persia*, traces the origin of the word. He says, (on p. 154), that when the Zoroastrians of Persia begged of their conquerors to be allowed to pursue, in peace, some avocation, they were assigned that of shepherds, 'gavdar', *i.e.*, 'gav' meaning 'cow', and 'bar', from the Persian word 'bordan', to carry. In course of time, the third and the fourth letters of the Persian alphabet were dropped from 'gav-bar', and the name 'gabr' was eventually adopted. In the *Farhange Jehangiri* an encyclopædic dictionary, the word 'gabr' is written as 'gavr', and, for its meaning, it is stated to be 'fire-worshippers', who profess the Zoroastrian faith, and who are otherwise known as 'mog'. In *Burhan-e-Kateh* [another dictionary], for 'mog', its equivalent is shewn as fire-worshipper'. As for the use of the word 'gavr', instead of 'gabr,' Mr Kyas explains, that in some villages of Persia, the alphabet 'v' is used for 'b', *e.g.*, for 'water' they use the word 'av', instead of the correct word 'ab'. He further points out that Firdausi has not even once used the word 'gabr', nor has Hafez, and from that he argues that, in the Persian language, there originally existed no such word 'gabr', but that the correct word was 'gav-bar'.

In the Gujarati Proceeding of the 'Zarthushti Din-ni-khol karnari Mandli,' (vol. III. of 1902, pp, 139-141), J. J. Modi has discussed the probable origin and derivative of the word '*guebre*'. See, also, his *Anthropological Papers*, p. 138.—M.M.M.]

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Persia, in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of the religious rites. After six years of study under the dasturs, he brought to India, in 1184, a copy of the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendidad*. (See Westergäard's *Zend-Avesta*, p. 304.) It seems also that there must have been some intercourse between the Parsis of Cambay and those of the Punjab, since, in 1323, the former were in possession of some copies of the *Vendidad* acquired by Máhyár.

At the time of the invasion of India by Timur, we find Parsis cited amongst the captives. The men, who have been represented as believing in the two principles of Good and Evil, and confessing, at the same time, *Yazdan* (God) and *ahreman*[47] (the Devil), and who offered a desperate resistance to Timur at Tughlikhpur, were Parsis. It is said, besides, that the colony in Gujarat was reinforced by a large number of Parsis, who fled before the conqueror. The mention, made by a Mahomedan writer, of the destruction of fire-temples by the emperor Sikandar (1504), shows that, long before this date, Parsi emigrants had dwelt in Upper India. Sir H. M. Elliot, in his *History of India*, following the opinion of Professor Dowson, affirms that the *Guebres* of Rohilkhand, the *Magyas* of Malwa, and the *Maghs* of Tughlikhpur, although at present they offer no religious peculiarities, are the remnants of the Parsis of Upper India. According to a communication, *anent* Mount Abu, by Sir Alexander Burnes, cited in the *Gazetteer of Bombay*, there had been a Parsi colony at Chandrauli towards the middle of the fifteenth century.

It is believed that the Parsis settled at Ankleswar in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era. One of

47. [*Ahriman*: See my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post*.—M.M.M.]

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their religious books,[48] the *Vispered*,[49] was in fact copied there in 1258. There is no doubt of their having been at Bharooch[50] [Broach] before the commencement of the fourteenth century, for we find that a *dokhma* (=tower-of-silence) was built there in 1309, by a Parsi named Pestanji; and the ruins of a still older (dokhma) tower are to be found in the suburb of Vajalpoor.

The settlements [of the Parsis] at Thánà and Chaul must have been founded at an early date. Mahomedan and European travellers mention them in speaking of these two places, without giving the Parsis the true name of their nationality. However, the description given of them agrees very much with that of the Parsis; and this idea is confirmed by Odoric, an Italian monk, who was travelling in India about the beginning of the fourteenth

48. [On p. 78 of vol. II, of 1891, of the Gujarati Proceedings of the 'Zarthushti din-ni khol karnari Mandli,' Ervad Dadabhai Nadirshah expresses his opinion that the Parsi refugees, from Persia to India, did not bring with them any Pahlavi books, "because," he says, "the oldest book brought out to India is dated the year 550 to 700." Westergaard, in his Introduction to the *Avesta*, published by him, refers to it at p. II, and says this oldest book was in Surat; it belonged to Ervad Mehervan Khosru, Mehervan Aspandyar, Mehervan Murzban, and was written in the Yazdejardi year 692.—M.M.M.]

49. [The *Visparad*: See my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post*.—M. M. M.]

50. *Bharooch* or *Broach*:—A British district in the Bombay Presidency. Population 320,322 souls (in 1872). There are about 3,116 Parsis there, nearly all traders or agriculturists. Its capital, on the Nerbudda, has a population of 36,932 inhabitants. The English had a factory there since 1616. They took possession of Bharooch in 1703. The Parsis must have settled there since the eleventh century. Many quitted Bharooch for Bombay. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. i. pp. 224 *et seq.*)

[Professor Dowson, editor of Elliot's *History of India*, identifies the '*Bahruj*' of Albiruni with 'Broach.'—M. M. M.]

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century[51]. The people (at Thànà) were, according to him, idolators, for they worshipped fire, serpents, and trees, [52] and did not bury their dead, but carried them with great pomp to the fields, and exposed them there as food for beasts and birds. Now, as the Hindus either burn or bury their dead, the custom, above described, relates evidently to the Parsis, who, later on, left this place in a body. A tradition, preserved at Thànà, furnishes an amusing instance of the manner in which the colony contrived to escape a forced conversion to Christianity. The Parsis, constrained to renounce their faith, and having no means of escape, succeeded, by a ruse, in avoiding the persecutions they were threatened with. They repaired in a body to the governor and declared themselves ready to embrace Christianity, demanding, as an only favour, a delay till the following Sunday, before renouncing their faith, so that they might take advantage of the few days of respite to worship the sacred fire and celebrate, for the last time, their festivals. The Portuguese were so pleased, with this prompt submission to their will, that a proclamation was issued to the effect that, on the day fixed, no one should interfere with the Mazdiens in the performance of their rites and ceremonies. The Parsis prepared a great feast, to which all the notables were invited; wine flowed freely, and, while the guests were indulging themselves in it, the Parsis, to the sound of music, and in the midst of the dancing, left the town and reached Kalyàn, to the south of Thánà, where they eventually settled.[53]

51. See *Voyage en Asie du Frere Odoric de Pordenone, religieux de Saint Francois*, edited and annotated by M. H. Cordier, p. 82. (Paris, 1891).

52. [As for this alleged worship of fire, serpents, and trees, I can only refer the reader to Rastomji Edulji Dastoor Peshotanji Sanjana's instructive treatment of the subjects, of "alleged nature-worship and fire-worship," at pages 159 *et seq.* of his *Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta*.—M. M. M.]

53. *Thánà* was abandoned for over three centuries. In 1774, the

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Travellers (54) who visited India from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century have found Parsis in various places. There is reason to believe that, at that time, nothing of any importance befell the community. The Parsis lived amicably with the Hindus, and were chiefly occupied in agriculture. About 1305 A. D., an event of considerable importance occurred in their history, at the time of a struggle maintained by the Hindu chief of Sanjan against Mahmood Shah or Ala-ud-din Khilji who had sent, into Gujarat, a strong army commanded by Alp Khan. (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 4.) (55)

The Mahomedan general arrived under the walls of Sanjan with thirty-thousand men. The Hindu prince,

Parsis returned and took possession of it, according to the terms of a treaty, concluded with a Marâtha Sardâr, Ragunathráo Dâdá Sâheb. Kâvasji Rastamji, of Bombay, accompanied them, and he was entrusted with the office of *patel* in the following places: Charnibanda, Munpesar, Trombay, Muth, Murve, Manori, Vesâvá, Dándá, Bandorá, Kalyan, Bhimardi, and other places in the island of Salsette.

54. [As to foreign travellers in India: " Hawkins and Roe each spent about three years in India; the visits of Mandelslo and Della Valle may be reckoned in months; Fryer knew little beyond the country about Surat; Tavernier made several extensive journeys, but he was a diamond-merchant and was chiefly interested in his trade. Bernier, who alone compares with Sir Thomas Roe or Manucci in the breadth of his outlook and the detail of his descriptions, was but seven years in the country, and, valuable as his book is, it is rather an academic desertation than a record of personal experiences, and has neither the vividness nor the charm of Manucci's naive narrative. Manucci had been in India already three years when Bernier arrived there, and he remained in India more than fifty years after Bernier left. When he (Manucci) wrote the latest date, 1706, in his memoirs, he had been half a century in the country. In point of length of experience, then, Manucci stands alone among European authorities in India in the seventeeth century....."—See *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1910, p. 456.—M.M.M.]

55. Dr Wilson, (in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. 182), has suggested that the

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conscious of his danger, appealed to those whom his ancestors had so generously received into their country. The Parsis were not unmindful of this, and fourteen

Mahmood Shah of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjân* was Mahmood Begada,* who reigned over Gujarat from 1459 to 1513. The mention of Champaner† as his capital seems to indicate that the author of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjân* thought that the Mussulman prince was the famous Mahmood Begada. But the conquest of Gujarat by Alp Khan was so complete that it leaves no doubt that Sanjân fell into his hands. The conqueror might possibly, though less likely, be Mahmood Shâh Tughlik, who re-conquered Gujarat and the Thânà coast in 1348, and not Mahmood Begada, as the authorities agree in saying that, after long wanderings, the Fire was brought from Sanjan to Naosari about the beginning of the fifteenth century (1419). Alp Khan may be either Ulugh Khan, Alaud-din's brother, who is sometimes called by mistake Alp Khan, or he may be Alp Khan, Alaud-din's brother-in-law. Ulugh Khan conquered Gujarat (1295-1297) and Alp Khan governed it (1300-1320). The Alp Khan of the text was doubtless Ulugh Khan. —(Elliot, iii. 157, 163.) (See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.*)

[In the *Jam-e-Jamshed* newspaper of the 11th of Sept. 1907, is published a Paper, read by Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, (before a conference called *Sahitya Parishad*) and entitled, "The Sultan Mahmood, the vanquisher of the Hindu Raja mentioned in the *Kissah-e-Sanjan.*" In this Paper Dr Modi contends that the Sultan Mahomed, who defeated the Hindu Rajah was Mahomed Begada, and not Alaud-din Khilji, as conjectured by Sir James Campbell in his *Gazetteer.* Dr Modi's arguments, in this Paper, are worth reproducing here, *in extenso.* The translation is by me.

He says: "A *mobed* of Naosari, named Bahman Kekobad, has written a book, in the year 1600 A. D., called *Kissah-e-Sanjan.* It contains a narrative of the Parsis of Persia, who, on their defeat at

* [*Mahmud Beghdà*,—the seventh king of Western Gujarat,—is so-called because,—according to the tradition related by Captain William Miles,—he took the hill-fort of Champaneer, and that of Junaghad (in Kathiavad) on the same day, and, therefore, 'Beghda' is derived from 'Be-Ghudde,' or 'Be-Ghurree,' *i.e.* 'of the two forts'.—M.M.M.]

† *Champaner.*—A fort and village in the Panch Mahal district, situated on an isolated rock of great height. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. II., p. 375.)

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hundred of them, under the command of Ardeshir, joined the troops of the Ràna. In defending his cause they were equally defending their own independence and the religious

the hands of the Arabs, fled to India in order to save themselves from religious and other persecutions. In that book it is stated that after the Persian dynasty had come to an end with the reign of Yezdejard, some Parsis settled in Kohistan for one hundred years. After that, they lived in the city of Hormaz for fifteen years. Thence they migrated to Diu in India, and lived there for nineteen years. Thence they removed to Sanjan, where they consecrated an *Atesh Beheram*. Seven hundred years later, (during which period the descendants of the Parsi emigrants had spread all around Sanjan), Sultan Mahmood caused Alf, Khan to attack the town of Sanjan, This Sultan Mahmood, after subjugating the fort of Champaneer, had forced the inhabitants thereabouts to accept the Moslem religion. Against Alf Khan, the Parsis fought on the side of the Hindu Rajah, and were at first victorious, but were eventually vanquished, and several Parsis were killed. Now the question is: which King,—this 'Sultan Mahomed,'—it was who had thus brought about the above defeat of the Parsis? According to tradition, this was Mahmood Begda. In 1826 A. D., Dastur Kamdin of Broach makes a note of this tradition in his book regarding the question of the *Kabiseh*. In A. D. 1831, Ervad Framji Rabadi has written a narrative about this Mahomed Begda of the traditional story. But, a hundred years prior to these two Parsi writers, Dr Robert Drummond has noted this tradition in a book of his. This tradition, he says, he had heard from the Dasturs of the Parsis. According to this tradition, Dr Wilson also has identified this Mahmood with Mahmood Begda. But, of recent years, some doubt has been thrown in regard to the authenticity of this name. It was the late Sir James Campbell who first started this doubt in his *Gazetteer*. Accepting his version, some Parsi authors have also followed his statement as to who this Mahmood was. In the Gujarati series of school text-books (published by Government) the writer of these text-books, following the authority of the *Gazetteer*, has also stated this Mahmood to be Mahmood Alla-ud-din Khilji as the king who had brought an expedition upon Sanjan. The object of this Paper is to show that Sir James Campbell, and those who follow him, are in the wrong, and that the tradition, regarding this king being Mahmood Begda, is after all correct, *i.e.*. the Sultan is Mahomed Begdo, who had reigned in Ahmedabad from 1459 to 1503, A. D. Proof of this

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liberty which they had come to seek under his kindly protection. The armies met, not far from Sanján. Already were the Hindus giving way under the stress of the Mahomedans, when the Parsis rushed headlong to the combat.

is based upon: (1) The period of *Kissah-e-Sanjan*: (2) the reference in it (*a*) to the conquest of Champaner: (*b*) to the spread of Islamismin India: (*c*) to the title given to Sultan Mahomed: (*d*) to one *Changa Shah*.

"(1) The date given in the *Kissah-e-Sanjan* is as follows:—The narrative, in it, commences with the end of the reign of king Yezdejerd, so that:

Yezdejerd's reign is in	651	A. D.
Period of residence of the Parsis in Kohistan ...	100	years.
Do. in the city of Hormuz	15	*do.*
Do. in Diu	19	*do.*
Arrival in Sanjan, and the building of a fire-temple ...	5	*do.*
Period of 700 years, after which the expedition of Mahmood took place	700	*do.*
	1490	A. D.

In this is included the period during which Mahmood Begda had reigned, and not Alla-ud-din Khilji. The latter had reigned only up to the year 1315 A.D.

"In the *Kissah-e-Sanjan* it is stated that the above-mentioned defeat of the Hindu Rajah was after the conquest of Champaneer by Sultan Mahomed. According to the authority of Mahomedan writers: (*1*) *Meerate Secandari*, (2) *Tabkate Akbari*, (*3*) *Tarikhe Fereshte*, and the compositions of Hindi poets mentioned in (4) the *Rásmálá*, the date of the conquest of Champaner by the Moslems is fixed to be in the year 1484 A.D., or 889 Hijri. Six years later, the Hindu Prince was attacked, and about this period we find it was Mahmood Begda, (and not Alla-ud-din Khilji,) to be the king who was then reigning.

"*Kisseh-e-Sanjan* states that it was 700 years after the advent of the Moslem kings into India that the Champaneer expedition took place. According to history the first Emperor who set foot in India was Sabtagin. That would be in the year 990 A. D. Adding 500 years to this date, the date of the Sanjan incident corresponds with the year 1490 A. D. This was the year of Mahmood Begda's reign, and not of Allaud-din Khilji. (*Continued.*)

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Ardeshir, with his followers, rushed into the thick of the fight and compelled Alp Khan to fly. But the Mahomedan general soon re-appeared with reinforcements. Then, Ardeshir, addressing the Hindu prince, swore to him the most complete fidelity, and, although the enemy was in numbers far superior to his handful of men, he returned to the field of battle. It was at this moment that a single combat took place between Ardeshir and one of the Mahomedan chiefs,—a combat in which the latter was thrown from his horse and slain by the Parsi. Alp Khan, enraged by this scene, threw himself into the contest. A frightful carnage followed, and Ardeshir was struck in his turn by a dart which threw him

"It is further stated in the *Kisseh-e-Sanjan* that Sultan Mahmood was called 'Zil Sultan' *i.e.*, the 'representative of God.' Now, Mahmood Begda also had (according to one Mahomedan historian) a similar title. This also points to Mahmood Begda as the conqueror of Sanjan.

"In the same *Kisseh*, it is further stated that, after their defeat in the Sanjan expedition (1490 A. D.), the Parsis removed their *Atash-Behèrâm* to the mountains of Bahrut, and lived there for 12 years, and also in Bansda for 19 years, and then to Naosari this Fire was removed by one Changa Shah, of Naosari. The date of this removal comes to 1516 A.D. (*i. e.* 1490 + 12 + 14). This year, 1516, corresponds with that of Mahmood Begda's reign. But it does not correspond with that of Alla-ud-din Khilji, because he died in 1315 A. D. Again, take the *Revayets*. The first is that in 1470 A. D. by Nariman Hoshang: the second is in 1481; and one anonymous *Revayet* is dated 1511, and in which we find the mention of the name of a leading Parsi named Changa Shah of Naosari; there the date of the life-time of this leader is fixed to be at the end of the 15th century (A.D.) and the beginning of the 16th. He was not even born in or near about the time of Allaud-din Khilji. This also proves that it was Mahmood Begda who subjugated Sanjan.

"Even when we consider the authorities on which Sir James Campbell conjecturally fixes the name of Alla-ud-din Khilji, we find that he is mistaken in doing so."

[See, also, J. J. Modi's *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, and their Dates*: (Printed in the Fort Printing Press, Bombay 1915.)—M.M.M.]

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off his horse. The Ráná perished, and Alp Khan became master of Sanjan. Thus, the Parsis were again compelled to seek another home.(56)

They had much to suffer from this Mahomedan conquest, and, therefore, many fled to the mountains of Bahrout, eight miles east of Sanjàn. The grotto, where the sacred Fire was deposited, is still to be seen. According to the *Kisseh-e-Sanjan*, the fugitives remained there only twelve years, after which they quitted this mountainous

56. In 1839, when Dr J. Wilson visited Sanjan, he found only one or two Parsi families there. The ruins of a *dokhmä*, [tower-of-silence] constructed before 1400 A. D., are still to be seen, but not a single Parsi is to be found there.

[In the *Jam-e-Jamshed* (of 4th April, 1881), Bomanji Byramji Patel has detailed an account, in Gujarati, of his visits to Tarapore, Dehnu, Janh-Bordi, Davier, Umargaum, Sanjan, Nargole, Saronda, Tadgam, Maroli, and Daman,—all situated in the province of Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. Speaking of Sanjan, Mr Patel says : At the time of his visit (in 1881) "there were no Parsis whatever living there. There is only one *dharamsala* (caravanserai) built by the late Vicaji Meherji, of which there is only the Parsi custodian with his family. In this town are to be seen, in large numbers, the brick foundations of demolished Parsi houses. About a mile from the *dharamsala*, is to be seen the *bhandar* (central well or pit) and the *chak* (or foundation of the surrounding wall) of a very ancient *dokhma*. The central well (in which are drained the bones, etc., of the dead), and the *pávi* (or the spaces on which dead bodies are placed) are quite overgrown with, and in fact submerged in long-grass, trees and bushes. In front of the *dokhma* is a very old well, (pit of the *dokhma*), without walls, and covered over with leaves and green verdure, and containing very stagnant, stinking water.....The guides (a native cultivator and a Mahomedan) gave me the information that there were nine other *dokhma* attached to Sanjan, but all signs of their existence have been lost by this time. An old Nargole village Parsi gave me the information that about fifty to sixty years ago, (*i.e.* about 1831) the *dokhma* that is still to be seen had its brick walls standing in tact, and this has been confirmed by another Parsi, Ervad Jamshedji Peshotanji Sanjana, who had visited the tower forty years ago,(*i.e.* about 1841) and found three-fourths of the wall standing. Thirty-five years

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district and went to Bànsdàh,[57] about fifty miles north-east of Naosàri, where a few Parsi families had already settled. Fourteen years later (1331), they conveyed the sacred Fire to Naosari, where their co-religionists were numerous and influential. But the date 1419 being generally accepted as the year in which the sacred Fire was brought to Naosari, it may be presumed that, between the flight of the Parsis from Sanjan and the new era of their independence, a whole century, and not twenty-six years, must have elapsed.[58]

From Naosari the fire was removed to Surat in 1733, on account of the apprehensions of inroads by the Pindàris, [a predatory clan], and was again removed to Naosàri three years later. Thence, owing to certain disputes among the Parsi priests, it was taken to Balsàr. After being there for some time, it was transferred to Udwàdà on October 28, 1742. Here it is to this day: and

ago, Mr Behramji Furdoonji Murzban, of the Bombay Daftar Ashkara Press, informed me that he also saw much of this wall standing in 1846, and that he had seen the brick steps leading into and out of the tower; but these are now no more to be seen. There are to be seen the remnants of many ancient water-wells of Sanjan. The population, in olden days, was so large that Sanjan was then called *navteri nagri* (because of the area being reckoned as consisting of nine (*nav*) miles in length by thirteen (*ter*) miles in breadth.).....Many legends, giving some idea of the extent of Sanjan, were communicated to me in Sanjan, Nargole, Tarapore, etc." Mr Patel gives a descriptive account of the towns and villages named in the beginning, showing the existence of settlements of the Parsis in those places at various periods.—M. M. M.]

57. *Bansdah*: A tributary State (in the Province of Gujarat) bounded on the north and west by the Surat district, on the south-east by the Baroda State, on the east by the Dang States, and on the south by the state of Dharampoor. The capital contains 2,321 inhabitants. (See *Imp, Gaz. of India*, vol. ii, pp. 401-2.)

58. [The year, 1419 A. D., given by B. B. Patel, is not accepted by J. J. Modi. See his *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis*. In it he fixes the date 1516 A. D.—M. M. M.]

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here is to be seen the oldest fire-temple of the Zoroastrians in India, the one held in the greatest veneration. (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 95.)

In the midst of the calamities that followed the overthrow of the Ràna of Sanjàn, the Parsis continued to apply themselves to agriculture. A singular incident deserves being related. One of their small colonies had settled in Variàv, not far from Surat, and was under the rule of the Ràjà of Rattampoor, a Rajput chief who attempted to impose an extraordinary tribute on the Parsis. The Parsis refused and bade defiance to the soldiers sent to enforce it. The Ràjà's soldiers then sought an opportunity of avenging themselves, and seized the moment when the Parsis were assembled at a wedding. These, surprised in the midst of their wives and children, were all ruthlessly massacred. The anniversary of this cruel carnage is still observed in Surat [and in surrounding Parsi localities. It is called the *Variàvà Behdin's Parabh*, and is held on the 25th day of the first month of the Shàhànshàhi Parsis.][59]

The settlement of the Parsis, in this latter place, Surat, is the most recent of all. The earliest mention made of it does not go further back than 1478 A.D. [60]

59. [Note added on the information of B. B. Patel.—M. M. M.]

60. [But Dr J. J. Modi says :—"It is said that even some time before this period, (of the temporary removal of the first sacred Fire from Naosari to Surat, from 1733 to 1736) some of the Parsis, tired of the frequent depradations of the Mahrathas, had removed, for good to Surat. Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel, in his *History of Surat*, (published, in 1890, in the Gujarati language), says that Naosari had passed into the hands of the Peshwas, and that the Parsis, there, were tired with the mis-rule of some of their officers, and with the frequent depradations. So, a number of Parsis,—about a thousand or two,—went to reside at Surat. Rustampura, which derives its name from its founder, Rustam Manock (1635 to 1721), was inhabited mostly by these emigrants from Naosari. He further says that a tower-of-silence was built at Surat for these Parsis. The land for this Tower was given by Nawab

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It was there that the community first attained its first great importance and came in contact with the Europeans. We shall see its destinies further on.

[In Ogilby's Atlas, of 1670 A.D., (pp. 218-19), we find the following regarding Parsis: "They live here like the natives, free and undisturbed, and drave what Trade they please. They are very ingenious, and for the most part maintain themselves with Tilling, and buying and selling all sorts of Fruits, tapping of Wine out of the Palm trees. Some also Traffick, and are Exchangers of Money, keep shops, and exercise all manner of Handcrafts, except Smith's work, for they are not allowed to quench Fire with Water. If any person chances accidentally to drink out of another's Cup, they wash the same three times, and set it away for a considerable time before they use it again. The men wear great round Beards, long black Hair on their Heads, and are generally hooknos'd which makes them to be known amongst thousands of People; yet there are some that wear short Hair, with a Lock only on the top of their Crown."

Ovington, in his *Voyage to Suratt*, in 1689, says (pp. 373-76): "They [the Parsis] own and Adore one Supreme being, to whom, as he is the Original of all things, they dedicate the first Day of every month, in a solemn observance of his Worship. And enjoin, besides these, some others for the Celebration of Publicke Prayers. At their solemn Festivals, whither an hundred or two sometimes resort, in the Suburbs of the City, each man according to his Fancy and Ability, brings with him his Victuals, which is equally distributed, eaten in common by all that are present. For they shew a firm Affection to all of their

Momin Khan (1715 A. D.), According to *Parsi Prakash* (vol. I, p. 25), a meeting of the Surat Parsis was held for this purpose in 1722 A. D., and the Naosari Parsis made arrangements for raising subscriptions for this purpose in 1723 A. D."—J. J. Modi: *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, and their Dates.*—M.M.M.]

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own Sentiments in Religion, assist the Poor, and are very ready to provide for the Sustenance and Comfort of such as want it. Their universal kindness, either in employing such as are Needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous Charity to such as are infirm and miserable; leave no man destitute of Relief, nor suffer a Beggar in all their Tribe; and herein so far comply with their excellent Rule of Pythogoras, to enjoy a kind of Community among Friends. In their Callings they are very Industrious and diligent, and careful to train up their Childern to Arts and Labour. They are the principal men at the Loom in all the Country, and most of the Silks and Stuffs at *Suratt*, are made by their Hands. The High Priest of the *Parsees* is called *Destoor*, their ordinary Priests *Daroos* or *Harboods*."

In vol. X, pp. 214,220, of Mr. Pinkerton's "General collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the world," the following mention has been made of Parsis, by C. Neibuhr, who travelled in India during 1762 to 1764 A.D:

"At Surat, are numbers of Parsees or Persians, who are skilful merchants, industrious artisans and good servants. At Bombay, at Surat, and in the vicinity of these cities, is a colony of ancient Persians, who took refuge in India, when their country was conquered by the Mahometan Arabs, eleven centuries since. They are called Persees. Being beloved by the Hindoos, they multipy exceedingly; whereas their countrymen, in the province of Kerman, are visibly diminishing under the Yoke of the Moslem Persians.

"They are a gentle, quiet, industrious race. They live in great harmony among themselves, make common contributions for the aid of their poor, and suffer none of their numbers to ask alms from people of a different religion.

"Among them, a man marries only one wife, nor ever takes a second, unless when the first happens to be

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barren. They give their children in marriage at six years of age; but the young couple continue to live separate in the houses of their parents, till they attain the age of puberty. Their dress is the same as that of the Hindoos, except that they wear under each ear a tuft of hair like the modern Persians. The Persees, followers of the religion of Zerdust or Zoroaster, adore one God only, eternal and Almighty."

T. S. Stavorinus, in his *Voyages to the East* (translated, from the original Dutch, by S. H. Wilcocke, vol. II, pp. 494-498, and 504-5), says of the Parsis of Surat, in 1774 A. D.:

"They increase in numbers from day-to-day, and have built and inhabit many entire wards in the suburbs.

"There are some among them, although few, who leave their countrymen, in the neighbourhood of Surat, for several years, and resort to Cochin, the coast of Coromandel or other places in India, in order to procure a better livelihood. Several among them at Surat are rich, and may be counted among the principal merchants.

"They are much fairer than either the Moors or Gentoos, and do not differ much in complexion from the Spaniards; they have, in general, large eyes, equiline noses, and well proportioned.

"They, however, marry no more than one woman at the same time, and never any one but of their own nation, so that they have preserved their race, through so many ages, pure and unmixed with other nations, to the present day.

"Pursuers of unlawful pleasures, spurred on by the desire of variety, and such as did not otherwise make any difficulty of confessing and even triumphing in their amours, have uniformly assured me, that they have never succeeded in having their will of any Persian woman, notwithstanding that they have neither spared assiduity nor money. The fear of punishment has so much

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influence upon these women, that they never dare consent, well knowing that, if ever their indiscretion be discovered, they cannot escape certain death.

"They are seen, every day, in the streets, and frequently fetch water at a distance from their houses. A number of Persian women are, however, always together, and a young girl especially is very rarely seen by herself.

"Two of them,—one of whom, Maneherji [Kharshedji Seth] by name, is the broker of the Dutch, and the other of the English Company,—are the chiefs of the Parsees who dwell in and about Surat; they are, at the same time, their chief ecclesiastics, or priests; they likewise settle the disputes that arise among them, and the parties must submit to their decisions; murder, homicide, and other crimes among them, which disturb the public tranquility, are punished by the nabob, or governor of the city; he, however, acts very circumspectly, in such cases, because he stands more in awe of the Persees than of the Moors, or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in some measure, independent; such heavy crimes, I was told, are very seldom heard of among them; and besides, as they all live in separate wards in which they do not allow any strangers to reside, many things may remain hidden among them."

James Forbes, who travelled in India and other parts of the world during 1765 to 1784, says, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 110, 112, and 114: "Many of the principal merchants and owners of ships at Bombay and Surat, are Parsees: others learned the mechanic arts, and engaged in the varied manufactures of the loom; the best carpenters and ship-wrights in India are of this tribe.

"Their number at Bombay is considerable, and at Surat they amount to twenty thousand families: hitherto they have not attempted to establish a Government of

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their own; and an unfortunate schism in their religious tenets has divided them into two separate fractions.

"The Parsees are generally a tall, comely race, athletic and well-formed, and much fairer that the natives of Hindostan; the women are celebrated more for chastity than cleanliness; the girls are delicate and pleasing, but the bloom of youth soon decays; before twenty they grow coarse and masculine, in a far greater degree than either the Hindoos or Mahomedans.

"Whereever the Parsees settle throughout Hindostan, they need a temple for their sacred fire, and construct a cemetery :" [meaning thereby a *dokhma.*]

In vol. III, pp. 411, 412, we find the following passage: "Of late years, the most beautiful villas and gardens at Surat, at least those in the best condition, no longer appertain to the Moguls or Hindoos; very considerable landed property, in the outer city and adjoining districts, belong to the Parsees, a numerous and industrious tribe mentioned in a former chapter. These Persian emigrants are now wonderfully multiplied; excepting the extraordinary instance of the children of Israel, there is, perhaps, no record of so great an increase as among the Parsee tribe in India, sprung from the few families who emigrated thither for the preservation of religious liberty. Active, robust, prudent, and persevering, they now form a very valuable part of the Company's subjects on the Western shores of Hindostan, where they are not only protected, but highly esteemed and encouraged. They never interfere with the government or police of any country where they settle, but gradually and silently acquire money, and the influence usually depending on such an acquisition. The Parsees not only acquire wealth, but enjoy the comforts and luxuries naturally accompanying it; as is evident in their own domestic economy, and especially in the entertainments they sometimes make for their English friends at Bombay and Surat where Asiatic

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splendour and hospitality are agreeably blendid with European taste and comfort."][61].

It is very difficult to assign a trustworthy date to the arrival of the Parsis in Bombay.[62] It seems probable that they were attracted thither by English merchants, and that their first settlement in that island was a little before[63] the time it was ceded [in 1668] to England by the Portuguese, as the dowry of Catherine of Braganza on her marriage [in 1662] with the Stuart king Charles II.

Dr Fryer, who visited Bombay in the year 1671,[64] says: On the other side of the great bay, towards the sea, there is a sort of promontory called Malabar Hill, a rocky mountain covered with woods, on the top of which

61. [Extracts placed here by me on pp. 66 to 71.—M.M.M.]

62. [*Bombay*: "The etymological derivation of 'Bombay' from "Bom—bay", good harbour, about which Fryer seems so positive, has been generally discredited. Sir George Birdwood also discredits the derivation of the place-name 'Bombay' from a supposed Portuguese form 'Bom-Bahia,' which he characterises as "bad grammar, and altogether unhistorical." Writing to *The Times* on the subject recently, Sir George observes: "Bombay, in Mahratti, 'Mumbai,' that is, 'Sister Mum,' take its name from the primitive tutelary of the island, Mùmbà Devi, 'the Goddess Sister Mum,' whose temple formerly stood on the Esplanade, but was transferred in the eighteenth century to the native town. The name 'Bombay,' therefore, means 'the town and Island of Our Lady Mumbai.' "—*Bombay in the Making*: by Phiroze B. M. Malabari. (T. Fisher Unwin: London: 1910)—M. M. M.]

63. [This surmise appears to be incorrect. See what R. P. Karkaria says in the excerpt I have inserted after the next paragraph. —M. M. M.]

64. A *New Account of East India and Persia*: *in Eight Letters*: *from* 1672 *to* 1681: by John Fryer, in 1698; Letter II, p. 67.

[The year of Fryer's visit to Bombay, as given by Miss Menant, is not correct. See what R. P. Karkaria says in the next paragraph, —M. M. M.]

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is a recently erected Parsi tomb.[65] Now, as the first care of the Parsis, wherever they settle, is to construct a 'Tower of Silence,' it is to be presumed that the community could not have been of any importance *before* this period. It has prospered since. It is in Bombay, at the present time, [the XXth century], that can be best studied the changes that have been going on for two centuries, and which make the modern Parsis the most loyal subjects of the British Crown, and the most active agents of civilization and progress.

[In connection with the exodus of Parsis to Bombay, the following excerpts from R. P. Karkaria's contribution, entitled "Bombay under the English.—The Earliest Account," published in the *Times of India* (daily newspaper of Bombay,) of December 13, 1900, will be found to be of considerable interest in fixing an approximate date of the arrival of the Parsis in Bombay:—"The account of the island of Bombay, given by Dr. Fryer in his book of Travels,—or, to give it its full and proper title, "A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being nine years' travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681,"—is supposed to be the earliest description of Bombay since it came into our hands from the Portuguese. Fryer landed at Bombay on the 9th December, 1673, and his second letter, describing the island and "the parts adjacent," is from Surat, January 15, 1674-5. Philip Anderson in his excellent book on "The English in Western India," which well deserves to be edited and reprinted, full as it is of curious information about the early days of English settlement on the Western coast, quotes Fryer, and nearly everybody who has written on

65. This *dokhma* still exists on the Malabar Hill. It was built, in 1670, by Modi Hirji Watchha, an ancestor of the Watchha Ghandhi family.

[This date appears to be incorrect. See what R. P. Karkaria says in the next paragraph.—M. M. M.]

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the subject since, including the author of "Bombay and Western India," follows suit. Fryer's is of course a very interesting account, as it was written by an experienced observer on the spot, and dates only six or seven years from our possession of the Island. But a still earlier account has been published by the Hakluyt Society which was written just three years before Fryer's. It was written in Bombay itself, and has this superiority over Fryer that, while the latter was an outsider and only a traveller in the East Indies, its writer was a prominent servant of the East India Company, who had already been fifteen years in this country when he wrote his account, and moreover was one of the four leading servants of the Company selected in 1668 to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers. He was the famous Sir Streynsham Master who played so large a part in the early history of the English settlements at Surat, Bombay, and Madras, for nearly a quarter of century, and then, returning home, played another part as the opponent of the Old Company and one of the directors of the rival New Company. Not much was known of Streynsham Master's life in spite of his long and useful career till that indefatigable antiquary, the late Sir Henry Yule, gave an account of him from his family papers and the records of the India Office, a few years ago. Yule was helped by a descendant of Master, the Rev. George Streynsham Master, who hunted up various letters and other papers of those old days in the possession of his family, of which he has written a privately printed genealogical account. Amongst the papers, discovered by Mr. Master and communicated to Yule after the latter's biographical notice was in type, was a document entitled "A letter from Suratt in India giving an account of ye.Manners of ye.English Factors, etc. Their Way of Civil Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these

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Partes." The original, says Yule, is a draft in the unquestionable handwriting of Sir Streynsham Master. 'Though bearing no signature and no address, abounding as it does in corrections and interpolations in the same handwriting, it must necessarily have been his own composition; whilst some expressions seem to intimate that the person addressed was a member of the Court in Leadenhall Street. As Streynsham Master returned to England, after his early sojourn in Western India in the summer of 1672, the date of the letter (January 1671, *i. e.*, N. S. 1672) implies that it must have been written when he was on the eve of departure for Europe.'

"This letter, though called a "letter from Suratt" is dated from "Bombay, January 18, 1671" (*i. e.*, N. S. 1672), and contains the account of Bombay and its inhabitants, English and native, to which attention is now called. Another very interesting part of this letter consists of a short account of the Parsis which is of some value. Master's is the first notice of the Parsis in Bombay, as he writes within three years of the English possession, and says in his quaint style: 'Here is also some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers and have not yet any place to doe their Devotion in or to Bury their Dead.' As he says he got his knowledge of them from the great Governor Aungier, 'who hath been somewhat curious in his enquiry into the religion of these people,' it would be interesting if the document containing the result of Aungier's "curious enquiry" were to turn up one day at the India Office or elsewhere. As regards what Master says about the Parsis having no place to bury their dead in Bombay we may remark that Fryer, writing three years later, says that on Malabar Hill 'a-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared.' We have thus the date of the first Parsee Tower of Silence in Bombay—between 1672 and 1674. This Tower still

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exists in the beautiful grounds sacred to the Parsee dead on Malabar Hill; but I am informed that there is no inscription on it giving its date, nor are there any other data for fixing it. In the chronological compilation called the "Parsi Prakash" the date is wrongly given as 1670. The compiler gives no authority for this except Fryer's words above quoted; and he wrongly says that Fryer came to Bombay in 1671. As we said above, he did not come here before the end of 1673, and wrote the words "lately reared" in January 1675, as he himself says at page 89 of his work. If the Tower had existed in 1670 Master could not have written at the beginning of 1672 what he explicitly says about there being no place to "bury their dead," "burying" being of course loosely used for the peculiar method of exposing to the birds of the air for which the Parsees are famous, and to which he refers later in the passage quoted below.

"Before quoting from Master's "Letter from Suratt" we may say that he was born in 1640 and died at the ripe age of 85 in 1724. He arrived at the age of sixteen at Surat in 1656, with his uncle George Oxenden, who, later, became President of the Surat Factory and Governor of Bombay. For several years he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad, and in 1668 went with three others to take charge of Bombay for the Company from the King's Officers. When Shivaji plundered Surat in 1670, Master was called from the fort of Swally to defend the English factory with his seamen, holding the place against the Mahrattas with much gallantry and still more tact. Master was sent later to Madras, where he became Chief or Governor in 1678, and there laid the foundation-stone of the first English church in India, and built it at his own expense. (Anderson's *English in Western India*, page 96). Mrs. Frank Penny, in her interesting book on Fort St. George just published, gives a good account of Master's career in Madras. Owing to grave difference

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with his employers he returned to England in 1681, and survived for nearly 44 years, dying in 1724.

"'Having given you a particular account of the Religion and Practice of the Inhabitants of Guzzaratt farr exceeding the leaves of Paper, I thought the Relation thereof would have taken up; I shall adventure to trespass a little farther on your Patience and give you a Small account of our Island of Bombay, where I now am, and according to the little time I have had to informe myself of this I desire you would measure the imperfect account I am able to render of it.

"'Bombay is an Island lying upon the Coast of India in about 18 degrees North Latitude;' twas given to the King of England in Dowry with Queen Katherine the Daughter of Portugall, anno 1662. But not delivered to the English until anno 1668; and in 1668 his Majesty was pleased to give it to the East India Company by reason of some ill-government. Since it hath been in the possession of the English both under the King and Company it hath not flourished or increased in Commerce soe much as it might otherwise have done, and 'tis hoped will hereafter doe, and by reason there are other Islands lye between the Maine land and this, espetially one called Salsett upon which the Portugals have a notable Pass called Tannah, by which noe Vessell can pass into the adjacent River and Maine, but by their Permission, for which they exact intollerable dutys, soe that the Comerce between this Island and the Neighbour Country of Decan is thereby wholy Impeded, therefore the only way to bring Trade to it and to make it famous must be by Sea, which is very facill, only a little and but a little Expensive at the first; whereof I shall not insist here. Presuming the President (who is Governor of Bombay) and Councill have represented the matter more effectually to the Company.

"'Bombay is Inhabited by all the severall Nations or Sects of People I have before mentioned. Here is Mahu-

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metans, and a place where they say one of the Saints of their Religion was buryed, to which many come in Pilgrimage and doe homage at the grave; here is Hindooes of all sorts, and a place to which they goe to pay their Devotions, esteeming it sacred and antient; here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them Weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their Devotion in or to Bury their Dead..... ...Bombay, January 18, 1671."

"The following passage contains the account of the Parsees. It was evidently written at Surat. After describing the Mahomedans and the Hindus he proceeds as follows:—

"'Having been longer then I thought to be upon the Hindooes I shall now proceed to the Parsees and be more brief in my account of them.

"'The Parsees are the antient Inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now Inhabit here abouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then several of those Parsees resolving to suffer and undergoe any hardships rather than submitt to Mahomett and his Followers Imbarqued themselves and their familys in a few slight built vessels of that Country and committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, and not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Suratt and Daman about 12 or 13 miles from Suratt near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was allsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as oblidging People and strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the *Sun*, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near

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the same place) took yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe termed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not Kill Cows or any of that Sort of Catell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or there abouts to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called NAUSARREE, or by the English NUNSARREE, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Suratt, but there are very few farther in the Country. At the said place of Nausarree their Chief Priests reside, where 'tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They kept it soe constantly supplyed: they had a Church in Suratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and took it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have several buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

"'These People are of a different Shape and complection from all other People that ever I sawe in the World; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawful for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them have adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let it extinguished for want of matter; (66) they worship and acknowledge one

66. [Until very recently, in Atash Beheram and Agiari, as also in the most orthodox Parsi houses, lights were lit in small tumblers,

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God Allmighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the sun they doe adore, and they give this Reason for it; that God Allmighty told them by their first Prophett that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto Him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the world, soe that it gives them life and light; therefore they say they worship it.

'"President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of your Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these Prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer but that their Kinedom and Country will be Restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the world be ended.'

three-fourths filled with water, and the rest with cocoa-nut or castor oil. A thin wick, made up of cotton, wrapt around very finely-cut circular slips or wires of wood, is inserted in a frame-work of tin, and dipped into the tumbler. This kind of lamp is allowed to burn itself out, but never put out, either by hand, or by blowing the flame out. In the majority of the fire-temples, even at this date, there is a strong prejudice against using any but the above described lights. In orthodox Parsi houses the kitchen-fire is never put out at night. but it is let smoulder all the night through, and, in the morning, it is resuscitated into a flame by means of chips of sandal-wood, the mistress of the house, or some other female member saying a short prayer at the same time. Quite recently, in 1911, the trustees of the Anjmaun's Atash Beharam, in Bombay, have introduced electric light,—an innovation indicating how rapidly the Parsis are beginning to understand the real principles of the religion as preached by Zoroaster.—M.M.M.]

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"When we compare this account of Master's with the contemporary notices of the Parsees by Mandelslo, Fryer, Ovington, and others, and the earlier accounts of Sir Thomas Herbert, his Chaplain Terry, and Henry Lord, we find that Master, though brief, was on the whole not much behind these in knowledge. The curious mistake about Navsari being called the first settlement of the Parsees in Gujarat is of course pardonable in one who wrote in those early days, though it must be said that such a mistake was rarely made by other contemporary writers. Sanjan is, of course, the name of the first Parsee settlement in Gujarat. The Parsees settled at Navsari only in the middle of the twelfth century. About both those early Parsee settlements I shall have something to say on another occasion."] (67)

[From a Paper read by Bomanji Byramji Patel before the Bombay *Gnán Prasárak Mandli* (=Society for the Spread of Knowledge) on the 21st of January 1879, the following interesting information, based on his *Parsi Prakash*, has been culled: "The Parsis, on their arrival in India, applied themselves to cultivation for a long time. It was in Sanjan that they found their first shelter, and their means of livelihood. After having obtained a firm footing there, they spread themselves over other surrounding villages, for the purpose of cultivation.....In the middle of the 10th century we find them trading near Khambát. In the beginning of the 12th century we find them near Naosari. We see a *dokhma*, built in Broach, in the 13th century. In the 14th century we find them inviting a Parsee priest. And about the same time we find them spread all over many of the villages of the province of Gujarat. But in all these places they do not appear to have been engaged in any occupation other

67. [All this information has been inserted here by me.—See also R.P. Karkariar's *Bombay: An Anthology*, page 617 (1915).—M.M.M.]

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than that of cultivators. That they traded to some appreciable extent in Khambát is seen from a Report, written in 1813, in connection with Khambát, (Cambay), by Captain Robertson in the service of the Hon'ble East India Co. The following is a *resume* of this report:— That in the 10th century, on the banks of the Mahi river, there was a colony of the Parsis, settled near a Hindu temple called 'Koomarika Shetra.' That, there they were engaged in trading, and had, there, obtained such a firm footing that they were able to drive out all the Hindus from that locality. That, one night, a Hindu named Kalianrai of the Làd sect, brought an attack upon these Parsees with the assistance of Rajputs and Kolis, and set fire to their houses. That this attack compelled the Parsees to abandon their homes for a short time.

"We next come to Parsi settlements in Broach and Naosari. These places were under the Rulers of Delhi. Many of them took service under the representatives of these Rulers. Naoroji Seth of Surat obtained considerable influence with the Nawabs and his *darbàris* (courtiers). In the service of Nawab Kaymul Doula, there was one Parsi named Hir Parakh, who enjoyed so complete a confidence of the Nawab that a saying was current amongst the inhabitants of Surat, that, 'Hir's word was the law of Pir,' *i.e.*, of the said Nawab.

"In Naosari the Parsis had a *choudhri* (head-man) and Desai. The collection of revenues, and the care of the life and property of the inhabitants of Naosari, was in the hands of these Parsi officials. The first of these officials was one Chàngà Asà,[68] who held an authority

68. [*Chàngà Asà*: Also called Châng á Shàh. J. J. Modi, in his *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*, has carefully examined, in Englisb, the subject of Changa Shah's life, etc., and, in an Appendix, gives a brief account and genealogy of the family of Changa Shah. In an anonymous Reváyet, dated 1511, A D., we find mention made of a leading Parsi named Chángà Sháh of Naosàri. The

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from a Ràjà of Delhi. It is said that this Chàngà Asà was the first Parsi to amass a large fortune, by means of lands, given to him on lease and as a Dasai, and that, it was through him and since 1478, that friendly relations between the Parsis of Persia and of India were established.

"Next after Naosari, comes the Parsi colony in Surat and its surrounding villages. It was here that the Parsees were instrumental in cementing friendly commercial relations with the Dutch, Armenian and Portuguese who there carried on a large trade. These Parsis acted also as money-lenders, &c. They secured a still more firm footing on the English establishing their trade emporium in Surat, in 1660. From cultivation they extended their business to several arts and manufacture, such as weaving, carpentry, brick-laying, pottery &c. Cloths, such as *bàstà*, *alechà*, *ghàt*, *kinkhàb*, were woven by these Parsis, and which became widely known all over Guzrat. From carpentry, they took to ship-building. In 1735, a large dock was built in Bombay, and in this we see the hand of Parsis. In Hàsot, Ankleshwar, &c., the development of cotton-industry was also due to Parsis. They then turned their footsteps towards Bombay. Here their great employers were the Portuguese, and on the transfer of the Island under the English Crown they took service under the English. It was here the Parsis did business as contractors, collectors of Government revenue, commissariat suppliers, suppliers of Malabar timber and of the means of transport of the army by sea, suppliers of drinking water for officers, of palanquins, carriages, carts, bullocks, labourers, hamals, &c., wines for regiments, and clothing for the army. All this drew the Parsis of Surat, Broach, Khambat, and other surrounding places to Bombay.

date of the lifetime of this leader is fixed to be at the end of the 15th century, A.D., and the beginning of the 16th.—M.M.M.]

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MÀHYÀRJI KAIOJI MIRZÀ.
In Jamnagar State.
(1806—1868 A.D.)
(From a painting.)

DÀRÀJI KAIOJI MIRZÀ.
In Bhavnagar State.
(Died on 30th December 1870 A.D.)
(From a stippled picture.)

ERVAD TEMÙLJI MÀHYÀRJI MIRZÀ.
In Jamnagar State.
(1832—1899 A.D.)

DORÀBJI DINYÀRJI MIRZÁ.
Now in Bhavnagar State.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE MIRZÀ FAMILY.

Note.—For other Members see on picture-page 400 A, *post.*

For history of the Founder of the Family, and his visit to the Emperor's Court at Delhi, see p. 84, *post.*

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"It was from Bombay, the Parsis commenced their commercial relations with China, and the approximate date is 1756. From there the Parsis extended their connections with Pegu, Moulmein, Rangoon, Mecca, Jedda, Mascat, Mauritius, and the coast of Malay, trading in timber, rice, sugar, assafœtida, cotton, and spices. On the Malabar Coast they traded with Calicut, Cannanore, Alpi, Travancore, Tellichery, &c. One of the Rajahs of Mysore had deputed one of the Parsi merchants to improve the trade, commerce, and the revenue of that Province half a century back. Even the Imam of Muscat entrusted several commissions to a well known Bombay firm."

A more detailed account, from the abovementioned Paper in connection with the commercial enterprise of the Parsis, will be found later on in the chapter on Commerce.] (69)

[In an interesting foot-note, on p. 197 of vol. IX, Part II, ("Gujarat-Population") of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, the following brief history, of the "Parsis who visited the Mogul Court," is given. The note runs as follows:— "Of the Parsis who visited the Mogul Court, the names of eight remain. The first was Meherji Rana who invested Akbar with the sacred shirt and girdle(70) in A.D. 580, and in reward became High Priest of Navsàri. The second was Meherji's son Kekobad, who, about A.D. 1594-95, went to Delhi to seek redress, as the Nawàb of

69. [I have inserted this brief summary of the peregrinations of the Parsis, since their arrival in India, as it gives a good bird's-eye view of the same.—M.M.M.]

70. [It is difficult to say from what source the compiler of the *Gazetteer* has drawn his information, that Meherji Rana invested Akbar with the sacred shirt (the *sudreh*) and cincture (the *kusti*). The statement was referred to and impugned in the *causè celebrè* known as the "Parsi Panchayet Case" (of 1908), details of which have been given by me in the chapter on "Investiture," *post*.—M.M.M.]

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Surat had tried to take away the Emperor's grant of 200 acres. Kekobad was successful, and in a paper dated the 10th of Aspandád, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, he received an additional grant of a hundred acres. The third was Mulla Jamâsp, a priest of Navsari, who, about A. D. 1619, in return for a present of jasmin oil, was given a piece of land named Ratnàgiri, near Navsári, by the Emperor Jehangir. The fourth was Rustam Manek who went with the head of the Surat factory to Delhi in 1660. The fifth was Sorábj Kávasji who was of great service to the English in 1760, when they obtained command of the Surat castle and the post of Moghal Admiral. He returned to Surat bringing dresses of honour and a horse to the heads of the English Company at Surat. (Despatch from the Surat Chief in Council to the Bombay President and Council, 3rd May 1760, in Briggs' *Cities of Gujarastra.*) It is said that Sorabji Kavasji, who had been taught watch-making by a European, first went to Delhi in 1744 to mend a favourite clock of the Emperor. The Emperor, probably Muhammad Shàh (A. D. 1719-1748), was so pleased with Sorabji's skill that he honoured him with the title of Nek Sátkhàn, (*i.e.*, Lord of the Lucky Hour), gave him a lien on the customs revenue in Surat and the rank of a chief of 500 horse and 300 foot. Nek Sàtkhan was an ancestor of the well known Ardesher Bahadur, Kotwàl of Surat. The sixth was Kávasji Rustomji, third son of the high priest of Udwàdà, who is said to have gone to Delhi as Nek Sàtkhàn's assistant. He was given the title of Mirzà Khosru Beg and land near Surat, which his family, [71] now known as the Mirzà family, enjoyed for

71. [A brief history, in Gujarati, of the Mirzà family, and a summary of the history of the Udavara fire-temple (the great *Iran-Shah*), and of its chief priests, has been compiled and printed, from addresses delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of a *dàd-gàh* ('Chapel') at Jamnagar, (in Kathiawad), now ruled by the well-known

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several years. Mirzá Khosru Beg's skill, as a watch-maker, descended to his [third] son Kaioji who was watch-repairer to Bàjirav Peshwà. After Bàjirav's fall (A. D. 1818) Kaioji went to Bhávnagar (a native state in Kathiawar) with a clock of Bàjiráv which the Bhávnagar Chief had bought. In Bhávnagar, he made, entirely from local materials, a clock for which a tower was built, and which is still (A. D. 1898) in order.[72] The seventh was Kálàbhai Sorabji, son-in-law of Nek Sátkhán. He is said to have gone to Delhi to meet his father-in-law and received an estate in Rander (in Surat.) The eighth was Mancherji Kharshedji Seth, a wealthy merchant and well known Dutch broker who, some time before A. D. 1784, visited Delhi, it was said at the Emperor's request, who had heard of the liberality for which he was famous.][73]

[In his learned contribution entitled the "Origin of Bombay," in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., etc., makes the following reference to the Parsis of Bombay:

"The decay of Armenians was followed by the gradual rise of the Parsi section, which is now the most advanced of the Bombay Community. In intelligence, in industry, in civic virtues, and in philanthrophy it is one of the most important factors in the growth and prosperity of this city. There were a few Parsis in the island at the time of the Portuguese, and some also in the neighbouring island; but their gradual increase, as they have been

cricketeer, Prince Ranjitsinghji. The book is published by Temulji Mahiarji Mirza, a grandson of Mirza Khosru Baig, on the 8th Aug., 1894 A. D. Members of one branch of the Mirza family had settled in Jamnagar, those of two others in Bhavnagar.—M.M.M.]

72. [Daraji, one of the sons of Kaioji, succeeded his father in the service of the native state of Bhaunagar, (in Kathiawad), and married a sister of Fardunji Murzbanji, the Caxton of Gujarati printing in India.—M.M.M.]

73. [Inserted by me.—M.M.M.]

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coming from Gujarat and the places around, is of a comparatively recent date. When the British took possession of the Island, the only races known here were the ancient Kolis, a dozen Portuguese families, with as many missionaries, (three of whom were located in their church on the Esplanade, one at Mazagon, four at Parel, and the rest at Mahim, with the flock of their native converts), and the British servants of the Government, and, later on, of the Company. The first to settle here after them were the Surat and Diu Baniàs, then the Armenians, and lastly the Parsis, whose history has already been published by others and needs no repetition here.

"But no history of Bombay would be complete without at least an allusion to the Parsis. Dr. John Fryer, writing in 1673, has only one sentence referring to them. "A-top of all (Malabar Hill)," he says, "is a Parsi Tomb lately reared." As Fryer's time has been variously given I may quote here the exact dates. He came out with the fleet of 1672 composed of ten ships, among them one named *Bombaim*, Fryer's ship being *Unity*.... With reference to the mention by Fryer of a Parsi Tomb, I find among my notes the following :—"The first work of the Parsis wherever they settle is to construct a tomb (*dokhma*) or Tower of Silence for the reception of their Dead, and the statement of Dr. Fryer is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsis could have settled on the island before its cession to the British. The tradition current among the Parsis is that the first individual of their race who resided with his family in Bombay during the Portuguese rule was Dorabji Nanabhai. He was employed by the Portuguese authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. After the cession of the island to the British Crown he was appointed to a similar office. The next Parsi settler in Bombay was one Lowji, a shipwright. He left Surat, his native city, for Bombay, by the advice of

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Mr. Dudley, who was Superintendent of the Company's vessels at Surat. Under his supervision the Bombay Dockyard was built in 1735, but of this more hereafter. After Lowji came the Sett Khàndàn, the Dady Sett and the Banaji families.

"There were some Parsis employed by the Portuguese Government as clerks in the Bassein jurisdiction; but after the cession of Bombay their number increased rapidly, and the Company's trade with Surat caused them to flourish. At the beginning they took up the occupations of shop-keepers, *dalàl* or brokers, and clerks. A few were employed as domestic servants to Europeans and also as coachmen, but they rose gradually to be merchants. It is said that at first only males came to Bombay, as they were afraid to bring their women here, on account of the insecurity of the place. By helping the British with the information about the enemies around them, they gained the confidence of the Government, who encouraged them to settle on the island, and gave them situations in their offices. During the invasion of the island by the Sidi of Janjira, in 1692, it is said that Rustom, son of Dorabji, assisted the English with a body of the *Kolis*. For his bravery and timely assistance he was appointed *Patel* of Bombay, and a *Sanad* (a written grant or commission) was issued to the effect that the title should continue in his family. He was invested with the power to settle domestic disputes among the Kolis. On his death, during the governorships of Mr. Hornby, his son was made *Patel*.....On the capture of Thana, in which the Parsis are said to have helped the English, more Parsis came to settle in Bombay."] [74]

In this first chapter we have confined ourselves to a summary indication of the principal settlements of the Parsis in the Bombay Presidency, and to a succinct recital

74. [This note has been inserted by me.—M.M.M.]

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of the most prominent events which have signalized their sojourn in India before the advent of the Europeans.

We will now freely approach the study we have proposed to undertake. The reader will not, we hope, lose sight of their grievous exodus; and, at the height of the fame of the Dádiseths, the Banájis, the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoys, the Càmàs, the Petits, and many other no less illustrious names, will remember the first fugitives of Persia, and their kindly reception by the Ranà of Sanjan. "Welcome,"—said the prince,—"welcome to those who walk faithfully in the way of Hormuzd! May their race prosper and increase! May their prayers obtain the remission of their sins, and may the sun smile on them! May Lakshmi, (Goddess of Wealth), by her liberality and her gifts, contribute to their wealth and to the fulfilling of their desires; and, for ever, may their rare

74 A. [After this chapter I, on the "Exodus of the Parsis," was fully printed, for the English edition, *The Bombay Chronicle*, a daily newspaper of Bombay, has made the following announcement in its issue of 29th April 1916. It may be added here that the movement, to commemorate the landing of the Parsis in Sanjan, was started on the suggestion of the French author, Miss Delphine Menant, after her visit to India, with her mother. Shams-ul-Ulma Dr Jivanji J. Modi has acted as honorary secretary of the committee formed for the purpose of collecting the funds for raising this memorial-column. It is to be hoped that the day, on which the memorial-column will be opened, will be thereafter celebrated annually by the Parsis visiting the site and holding some sort of feast or ceremony. Says the *Bombay Chronicle*:

"It was nearly 1,200 years ago that the Parsis first landed on the shores of India at a spot near Sanjan in the Thana District. A movement has been set on foot to commemorate that historic event in a suitable fashion. It is proposed to raise a memorial column at Sanjan to mark the spot where the Iranian emigrants first landed and made their home. The interesting ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the memorial column will be performed next month. It is proposed to erect a column in granite, fifty feet high with a representation of the sacred flame at the top and a suitable inscription in the centre, The total cost is estimated about Rs. 18,000,

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Sanjan Memorial Column.

It will perpetuate the memory of the long-cherished tradition of the landing of Zoroastrians on the shores of India, on their exodus from Hormuz to Diu, and thence to Sanjan (in Gujarat).

(Photo. from a design by an European architect.)

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merits of race and intellect continue to distinguish them in our midst!" (74-A).

including Rs. 480 for bronze medallions, Rs. 840 for a fluted moulding at the top, and Rs. 750 for a flame at the top. Over Rs. 20,000 have already been subscribed by the members of the Parsi community, and an appeal is being made for Rs. 6,000 more towards the maintenance expenses. The inscription will include a grateful reference to the memory of Jadi Rana, who allowed the emigrants to land at Sanjan and make it their home, and the memory of that Hindu Prince,—who exhibited such remarkable tolerence of religious views in an age where it did not exist elsewhere in any great degree,—is still enshrined in the grateful hearts of the Parsis."—M.M.M.]

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

[PREPARED BY ME FOR THE ENGLISH EDITION.—M. M. M.]

The Sixteen Sanscrit Shlokas recited before Jade Rana.

[Shapurji Kavasji Hodivàlà, well-known Sanskrit and Avesta scholar, has contributed a Paper, in the forthcoming *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*. In this Paper, he says: "In order to escape the persecution and fanaticism of the Arab conquerors of Iran, the Parsis, having placed their wives and children on board [ship], left for ever the land of their forefathers, and arrived at the port of Diu, in Kathiawar, in the eighth century after Christ. Having stayed there for about ten years, they set sail towards the south, and landed at Sanjan, which was then under the sway of a liberal and sympathetic king, named Jadi Rana. Before allowing them to enter the city, the king made enquiries about their religion, manners, and customs. They gave their response in the fifteen well-known Sanskrit verses, or *Shlokas*, which form the subject of this paper.[75] The king granted the permission which is embodied in the sixteenth verse. These *Shlokas* contain

75. [There is considerable difference of opinion as to the identity of the Neryosangh who gave us the Sanskrit version of the *Khordeh Avesta* with the Neryosangh who explained the Mazdayasnan religion, in the well-known *Shlokas* addressed to Jade-Rana. Dr J. J. Modi, on p. 95 of his *Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society*, etc., says: "As regards the time of Neryosangh little is known. According to the generally accepted tradition, Neryosangh was the leader of the Parsis emigrating from Persia into India, and the learned Dastur who explained to king Jàdé-Ràna, (Jayadeva of Anhillavada Pattan: 745—806 A. D.), the Mazdayasnan belief in sixteen Shlokas, and who consecrated the *first* Fire-temple at Sanjan in Samvat 777, (=719 A. D.) and Yazdezerdi year 87. But historical records for the exactness of this

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the most important tenets of the religion, manners, and customs of the Parsis. It is a great pity that they have suffered a good deal at the hands of reckless copyists. The verses are written in the Sragdhara metre, consisting of 21 syllables.....My friend Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwala lent me a few mss. which I have utilized for the purposes of this Paper. But they are, for the most part, grossly incorrect, as regards both prosody and grammar. One ms., however, that came to my hands through Shams-ul-Ulma Ervad J. J. Modi, was much better than all the others. I have chiefly relied upon this for the text adopted in this Paper. I have, however, made certain emendations of my own, for which I am alone responsible. Besides giving a literal translation of my own, I give three other translations, one in English,

date are still wanting.....Dr. Haug places Neryosangh in the 15th century. Dr. West also, at one time, placed him in the 15th century. But he seems to have now modified his opinion.....I have embodied the results of my studies in a Paper.....since published in my *Iranian Essays*, (Part III, pp. 197—203). Therein I have placed Neryosangh in about the 12th century.....Dr West says: 'After considering it carefully, I have come to much the same conclusion as yourself, as to the time of Neryosangh, but by a somewhat different method.....So we may conclude from these data, that Neryosangh flourished in the latter part of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, as you have also concluded from other data.' Dr Modi further adds that, as regards the oral tradition, of Neryosangh, explaining the Mazdayasnan religion and consecrating the first Atesh-Beheram in 720 A.D., there are no facts to support the tradition, and that, "if Neryosangh had been the person who consecrated the Fire-temple, and if he was the celebrated author of the Sanscrit version of the Avesta, his name would have been mentioned by the author of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* who speaks at some length about landing at Sanjan and about the consecration of the Fire-temple. Anyhow, if we admit that there was a Neryosangh who consecrated the first fire-temple at Sanjan, then, it appears that this Neryosangh must be quite a different person from the well-known Neryosangh who gave us the Sanskrit versions."—M.M.M.]

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another in Gujerati, and a third which is a redaction of the original into Sanskrit prose with a commentary. The English translation is one contained in a rare work of Dr. Drummond who does not seem to have clearly understood the Sanskrit original. The Gujerati translation is that of one Ervad Jamshed *ervad* Manekji Rustomji, written in Samvant 1874. It is copied here because it gives the correct meaning of several difficult words, though it is neither accurate nor literal. The Sanskrit translation, or rather the commentary, is that of one Aka *andhiàru*, [=Aka, a *mobed*]. It has been transcribed by me from a ms. written by one Dastur Jamshedji Jamaspji Asaji Faredunji. Barring a number of clerical mistakes and a few inaccuracies, and unintelligible expressions, this commentary is very important for correctly understanding the verses. An English translation, of this Sanskrit redaction, is appended thereto. I also add a few critical notes of my own."

The following is the translation, by Mr Hodivala, of the *Shlokas*. At my suggestion, he has kindly prepared and subjoined some additional footnotes for publication in this English edition of *Les Parsis*. All the footnotes to these *Shlokas* emanate from his pen.—M. M. M.]

Shloka I.

Who thrice a day think highly [76] of (*i.e.*, praise) the sun and the five elements (namely) fire, wind, earth, the primordial sky and water, by Nyaishna prayers: who believe in the existence of the three worlds, and who adore the very merciful Ahurmazd, the Lord of the Angels,

76. The Parsis have been wrongly called "Fire-worshippers" by some ignorant writers. The original Sanskrit word, in this verse, is important as showing that they do not *worship* the sun, fire, and the other elements, but merely '*think highly*' of them, they being the best creations of the Almighty.

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and the Almighty due to many virtues ;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, (77) bold, valiant, and very strong.

Shloka II.

The best of men who always observe the seven kinds of silence mentioned in the Scriptures, (namely), at the time of bathing, praying,(78) reading holy Scriptures, making offerings to fire, taking meals, secreting fæces, and making water (79) ; who in this world perform ceremonies with incense of several kinds, good flowers and plenty of best fruits :—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant, and very strong.

Shloka III.

Who always put on the body a clean sacred garment (Sudra) which has the virtues of a coat-of-mail : who put on the waist (80) a woollen Kushti which is fastened (on the

77. The word, in the original, is '*gaura*,' which cannot mean '*white-skinned*,' as is clear from the 9th verse. It would be wrong to suppose that the writer wanted to point out that the Parsis were white-skinned, as contrasted with the dark-skinned Hindoos, because throughout the verses, we find that the writer wants to make an impression upon king Jadi Rana by making [complimentary] comparisons, which he could not have done by showing contrasts. The Vedic Aryans were fair-skinned, as we find in *Rig Veda* I-200-18. Even to-day, we find some Brahmin gentlemen, and, especially ladies, exceedingly fair. [Prof. Macdonald calls the *Rig Veda* the old Testament of the Hindus.—M.M.M.]

78. This, I think, refers to certain scriptural passages recited in *Bâj*, *i.e.*, with the lips closed : In *Yasna* XIX. 6, we are told that the *Ahunvar* may be remembered in mind. On page 11 of the S. B. E., Vol. 24, Dr West says, in a footnote :—"The sin consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time, when a murmured prayer (*Vâj*) has been inwardly taken, and is not yet spoken out, the protective spell of the prayer being broken by such talking."

79. The last three kinds of silence have also been mentioned in *Bundehishna*, Ch. 28, para. 7.

80. Here, and in the verse No. 13, we are told on what part of the body the *kushti* was fastened. A theory was once put forward that the *kushti*,—the Avestan equivalent of which is supposed to be

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Sudra), (each end of) which is like the mouth of a serpant[81] and which is tied into knots at equal distances; and who cover their head with turban, underneath which is put a cap made of two pieces of cloth;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant, and very strong.

Shloka IV.

Whose females cause melodious songs to be sung and music (to be played) at auspicious marriage ceremonies, which are performed on the lucky days mentioned (to them); whose females apply sandal,[82] fragrance, etc., to their bodies; who, being pure in their dealings, perform ceremonies of various qualities; and who act up to (*lit.*, are attached to) the delightful Scriptures;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant, and very strong.

Shloka V.

In whose house there is the giving away (in charity) of food etc., which is sweet and full of pleasant taste; who

Aivyanaghan,—was a sort of badge worn round the head, like a Hindu turban. The abovesaid passages contradict this theory. In the *Aiyadgâre Zarirân*, para. 75, we find that Vidarfsha struck the weapon upon the back of Zarir below his waist-girdle, and above his sacred thread. This also shows that the *kushti* was fastened round the waist, as is done now.

81. It is difficult to understand why the writer compares the end of the *kushti* with the mouth of a serpent. In the *Vedas*, as also in the *Avesta*, the serpent was a reptile that deserved to be killed: *vide* Yasna IX. 11, *Bunde-hishna* XXVIII. 8, and Rv. VII. 104-9. It seems, however, that, at the time when these verses were written, the Hindus must have looked upon serpents as objects of reverence and worship, as we find to-day. Throughout these verses, the writer has thought it fit to make comparisons with the then existing Hindu customs, so as to draw the sympathy of the king.

82. Even to-day, Parsi ladies are very fond of using scents. The custom of applying sandal to the body has, however, entirely disappeared: we find it among the Hindus only.

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do such charitable[83] acts as the building of lakes, wells, reservoirs, and bridges on rivers (*lit.*, waters); who always give presents of money, clothes [84] etc., to deserving petitioners;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant, and very strong.

Shloka VI.

Among whom joy (becomes victorious) over sorrow, happiness over affliction, knowledge over silence, righteousness over unrighteousness, pure birth over malady, creation full of light over destruction full of darkness; in whose speech and thought (the motto is) "as[85] the men, so the reward (in the next word);"—those are we Parsis.

Shloka VII.

Who, applying the cow-urine, consecrated by prayers, to the head, face (etc.), perform ablution, external and internal, mentioned in the Scriptures, and become pure with water brought by women; who afterwards tie the badge (*kushti*) round the waist; among whom there is to be no sleep without the badge; who engage themselves in delightful prayers, with mind made fresh by the muttered hymns; the principle in whose conduct is, invariably, undauntedness;—those are we Parsis.

83. Charity is a cardinal virtue enjoined by the Zoroastrian religion (see *Yasna*, Ha 44, para. 7). This virtue the Parsis have put into practice at all times and in all places.

84. The giving of money and clothes to the poor has been referred to in *Fravardin Yasht* 51, wherein the author says that the *Fravashis* are pleased by the offerings, of clothes and cows, to deserving persons. As the wealth of the Avestan people consisted of cows and other animals, it is clear that the word "cows" mentioned in the said Avesta passage refers to *pecuniary aid.*

85. It is just possible that by the words *Naravidhi purushan*, the writer wanted to refer to the doctrine of Dualism propounded in *Yasna*, Ha 45, para. 2.

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Shloka VIII.

Who perform the *Hom*[86] (Fire-prayer) five times every day, reciting sacred incantations, and putting (on the fire)aloe and sandal-wood, which is dried for six months, and wood fragrance and camphor; among whom the *Hom* does never take place with the fire extinguished by putting (thereon) wood made wet by clouds spread by the sun; who being attached to their wives by the laws of truth are not wrongfully devoted;—those are we Parsis.

Shloka IX.

Pure-hearted men, whose females, in menstrual period, become pure on the seventh night;[87] (and when) delivered of a child, pure in body after a month [88] from

86. This word obviously refers to the *Boya* prayers offered to the fire during each of the five *Gâh*. In the Hindu religion, however, the word *Hom* has a technical meaning; it refers to the oblations offered to the gods by throwing ghee into the consecrated fire.

It is one of the daily *Yajnas*, or sacrifices, enjoined to be performed by a Brahmin. Once again the author uses a word which would be easily understood by the Hindu king.

87. According to *Saddar* (ch. 68, para. 8) a menstruous woman does not become pure until the expiry of 3 days, and if, by that time, she does not perceive herself clean, it is requisite to wait for another day, and so on until the lapse of 9 days.

88. In the verse No. 11 we find that females are said to become pure after the 40th day from the day of delivery. It is difficult to understand why the author fixes a period of one month only. A similar confusion occurs in *Saddar*. In ch. 16, para. 4, it is stated that "during 40 days it is not proper that the mother of the infant should put her foot over a threshold in the dwelling," whereas in Ch. 76 it is stated that "when a woman brings forth, it is necessary that she should not wash her head for 21 days, nor put her hand on anything... ...nor put her foot on a threshold in her habitation. And, after the 21 days, if she is clean, she should wash her head, and after that until the 40th day, she should not touch fire or wooden things, and she should also abstain from doing household work such as cooking &c." In *Bundehishna*, Ch. 16, the writer suggests that some observe a period of 10 days only, though that period is too short for the health of the woman.

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the day of delivery; (whose females) are noble on account of their graceful conduct, shine with golden ornaments, are powerful and strong and have always laughing faces;—those are we Parsis.

Shloka X.

Who do not attach themselves to concubines; who perform sacred ceremonies in honour of their *Fravashis*;[89] who protect the fire, who do not use flesh except in (*Jashna*) sacrifices; whose females, whilst in menstruation, do not sleep on the earth; (among whom) marriage is purity of devotion;[90] whose married females are not

89. With a view to make a strong impression upon the king by showing the resemblance between the Parsi and Hindu religions, the author once more uses a word well-known to the Hindus, and commonly found in the Hindu scriptures. The *Shradha* ceremonies, performed by the Hindus in honour of their deceased ancestors, the *Pitres*, very closely resemble the *Farvardegan* or *Muktad* ceremonies of the Parsis. According to *Manusmriti* III. 274-275, when pleased, the *Pitres* give the following blessing, "May such a man be born in our family who will give us milk-rice with honey and clarified butter on the 13th day of (*Bhadrapad*)"...This is exactly what is found in *Farvardin Yasht*, paras. 51-52. We find the following in the *Yajur Veda*:—"Gratify my manes by offering water, nectar, ghee, milk, cooked food and fruit (II-34). May the gentle *manes* come near us, sitting in divine chariots. May they be pleased with the offerings in this sacrifice; may they protect us and teach us truth (IV-31, XVI-48). O *manes*, may this salute be for you, may you taste the juice of *Soma* (Homa) plant and be happy. *Accept these clothes* that we offer you, so that we may live long, so that we may attain salvation, so that calamity may be driven away, so that wicked people may perish (II-32). O gentle *manes, sit on this seat of Barhis* (*Baresman*) *grass*. Come here, hear us, answer us, help us. Come here in every house and be pleased (XVI. 47-49)." It will be seen from the above that the custom of piling *bedàs* (goblets) during the *muktàd* seems to have its origin in the above Vedic passage.

90. "Marriage is purity of devotion, or marriage is pure, unsullied bond or attachment." The passage, in the original, forcibly points to the existence of monogamy among the Parsis in those days. On the

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(looked upon as) pure if devoid of husband ; who daily rejoice in (abiding by) such observations ;—those are we Parsis.

Shloka XI.

Whose wives do not get engaged in the work of cooking etc., (but) remain quiet and take complete rest for 40 days (*i.e.* after delivery) ; (whose wives), after ablution, are engaged in silent prayers and in (singing) the praises of the sun ; who always think highly of (*i.e.* praise) the wind, fire, earth, the moon, and the sun, and other Yazads ; in whose caste, men of different religion are always forbidden[91] (to be taken) ;—those are we Parsis.

authority of a vague passage in the *Bundehishn*, and the subsequent adaptation thereof in the *Vajr-kard-i-Dini*, it is supposed that no less a personage than our prophet Zoroaster married three wives all existing at the same time. The passage, in the *Bundehishn*, is full of contradictions which cannot be reconciled, and seems to be made up of interpolations. That Zoroaster married three wives all living together cannot be proved from the *Avesta* or the *Dinkard*. Indeed, the last line of the lost *Gatha* strophe No. 5 leads us to a conclusion directly opposite. The literal translation of the said passage of the strophe, which is a sort of a nuptial address to married couples, runs thus :—" One should seek to win over the other according to *Asha* (the Universal Law), so that the household may be happy." Now there is no denying the fact that polygamy was very common among the Vedic people. (*Cf.* Rv. I. 62-10, I. 71-1, I. 104-3, VII. 26-3, X. 145-1 to 6.) Nay, even polyandry seems to have been practised, as we find in Rv. I. 119-5. We must however admit that even among the Vedic people, traces of monogamy are found. (*Cf.* Rv. I-105-2, IV. 3-2, X. 85-41). We also find that the Vedic Aryans were well cognizant of the troubles of polygamy. (*Cf.* Rv. X. 33-2). As the *Gáthás* belonged to the Vedic times, reading the above Gathic passage in view of the last mentioned Vedic passage, little doubt is left in our mind that Zoroaster preached the doctrine of monogamy.

91. In this passage the word " Caste" is important. As the writer does not use the word *religion*, he seems to refer to the then existing custom among the Parsis of not admitting aliens [into the Parsi community.] Even supposing that the religion enjoined proselytism, still it is difficult to believe that the Iranians could have thought of [being

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Shloka XII.

Who thus by the mind think (highly) of water, sky, the moon, fire, wind, earth, and the sun, and of Hormazd the all Bountiful, Immutable and Immortal; who always recite the *Nyaishna* prayer which is the giver of victory, righteousness, and desire; and who maintain silence while eating and washing the body;[92]—those are we Parsis.

Shloka XIII.

Who, in accordance with the direction of elderly persons, always put on the *kushti*, made of wool, which is productive of great merit, which resembles the performing of ablution in the Ganges, [93] which is made of thickly set strands, which is of golden colour, and which is delightful and long, and which is like a yoke; who put on, on the region of the waist, this coat-of-mail (the *sudra*) which is (preserved) whole, in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures;—those are we Parsis.

Shloka XIV.

Who, if they accidentally (happen to) kill even a beast, perform holy penance of (*lit.* attended with) the

able to] convert aliens, soon after their overthrow by the Arabs. It must be stated here that the readings in the Mss. are very corrupt and vague. One of the readings has been rendered thus: "in whose caste such religious duties are always spoken of."

92. This verse is practically a repetition of the first two verses. This leaves us in doubt as to whether originally the number of the verses was 16 or less. It is very probable that irresponsible copyists may have interpolated some expressions, and even whole verses.

93. Among the Hindus, the ablution in the Ganges is looked upon as an act of great merit. In Rv. X. 75-5 this river has been worshipped. The writer has over again pointed out to the Ráná a similarity between the two religions. One Ms. reads the last line somewhat differently, conveying the following meaning:—"Those who are made to put on, on the waist, the *sudra* and *kushti* (accompanied) with recitations (recited) by priests, mentioned in the scriptures." In this verse we have a reference to the *Navzot* ceremony.

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Bareshnum (ablution) with the cow-urine, and the five products [94] of the cow, and thus become completely pure after many days; who always follow the good sayings of (their) ancestors for the washing off of sin; who daily rejoice in abiding by such observations;—those are we Parsis.

Shloka XV.

Of whom it is said that they attain lofty heaven if they act according to the religious observances which are laid down by ancient preceptors, which are composed in graceful language, and which point out the path of salvation; and (also) if they act up to the revealed commandments; who delight in purity and who are such glorious men;—those are we Parsis.

The Rana's Reply.

O ye all Parsis! May the countenance of the all-powerful Hormazd be for the prosperity of (your) sons and grandsons. May this [95] beneficent fire ever be for the destruction of your sins. May the favourable sun and the five (elements), the givers of great blessings, be worthy of the *Nyaishna* prayers. May you be victorious over the demons. And may you always achieve great respect.

94. The *Panch-gavya* penance, performed by the Hindus, is one in which the five products of the cow, *viz.*, milk, curd, ghee, urine, and dung are eaten. This penance is unknown among the Parsis. It is entirely a Hindu institution. Probably the original here has been tampered with.

95. The expression, "this fire," leads us to suppose that the fire referred to was the one brought from Iran (Persia).

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CHAPTER II.

[*Translated by the late Miss Ratanbai Ardeshir Framji Vakil, B.A.*]

THE ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA.

Let us now turn to the Zoroastrians who had remained behind in their fatherland, Persia. Although it is only by the way that we have to treat of this subject, it is nevertheless proper not to leave out of notice this nucleus of the Mazdien community who have remained so faithful to the religion of their ancestors, and who have been so sorely tried in their long residence in the midst of powerful and pitiless conquerors. We shall have occasion, besides, in the course of this work, to look back upon these far-off regions, to note the frequent communications between the Parsis of Persia and their brethren of India, and the inestimable benefits secured by the wealthy Parsis of Bombay for the unfortunate *Guebres* (96) of Yezd and Kirmàn.

Two hundred years after the Mahomedan conquest, the fate of Persia had entirely changed. The national spirit was dead, and the entire population had embraced Islamism. It is in the face of changes so sharp and so complete that one feels justified in mooting the puzzling problem of the influence of race and surroundings on the history of a nation. We do not need to address ourselves to modern thinkers to find it clearly formulated.

According to Rènan, as far back as the second century, Bardesane had wondered: "If man is the creature of his surroundings and of circumstances, how is it that the same country produces human developments utterly

96. [*Guebre*: For explanation of this term, see my footnotes 24 and 46, *ante*.—M.M.M.]

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incongruous? If man is governed by the laws of race, how is it that a nation which has changed its religion, for example, become Christian, comes to be quite different from what it used to be?"[97] We have only to substitute the epithet *Mahomedan* for the epithet *Christian* to bring the question to the point. How, in fact, could such a radical change be effected, and to what degree of despair must the Zoroastrians have reached, to submit to the levelling laws of Islam? If we attempted to explain this we should have to go back to the history of the internal agitations and the policy of the Persian Court: and their study would draw us away too far. We have noticed only the chief events of its history, without stopping to gather any instruction from facts. Let it suffice to say that the same causes made the Arabs victorious alike over the Byzantine emperor and the Persian Shahàhnè-Shah, and that these causes were the weakness and exhaustion of the national dynasties in the presence of the elements of vitality introduced by the conquerors. The people suffered from the carelessness of their kings: individual energy was powerless against the invasion of disciplined and fanatical tribes, commanded by generals like Omar and his officers.

The Persian nation was singularly maltreated.[98] The national unity was broken. Each province adapted itself the best way it could to the *règime* imposed

97. Renan has summarized, in these few terse lines, the long dissertations in the Sixth Book, tenth chapter, of the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. (See *Marcus Aurelius*, ch. xxiv. pp. 439-440.)

98. See Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. I. ch. viii. pp. 275 *et seq.*

[Mr Gustad K. Nariman, a Parsi scholar of unique abilities, and a linguist, kindly sends me, at my special request, a 'note' on the subject of the "legends of the persecution of the Parsis by the Arabs in Iran". He says: "The views expressed therein will appear revolutionary." I have deemed it best to publish this monograph as an appendix at the end of this Chapter.—M.M.M.]

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by circumstances and by the ambition of local chiefs. From that time the boundaries of the ancient kingdom underwent changes from century to century. In the tenth century, Taher, governor of Khorassàn, threw off the heavy yoke of the Caliphs of Bagdàd, and established, in his province, the authority of the Taherides. After them came the Saffarides, the Samanides, and all those foreign dynasties that divided the sovereignty amongst themselves, such as the Ghaznevides, the Seldjoukides, etc. Finally, there came, with all its calamities, the torrent of invasions to which succeeded the reigns of the Sophis, and of those dynasties, cruel and grasping, which have succeeded each other on the throne of Persia without doing anything for the true welfare of the people.

As we have seen, the followers of Zoroaster who would not accept the religion of Islam expatriated themselves. Those who could not abandon their country and continued to cling to their old religion, had to resign themselves to frightful sufferings. These dwelt chiefly in Fárs and Khorassàn. European travellers, who have visited Persia at different periods, have all been struck by their miserable and precarious condition, and have felt interested in their language, religion, and customs. We quote here some of them :

Pietro della Valle, at the time of his sojourn in Persia, studied them closely, and this is what he has to say : "These past few days I have been to see their new town [99] (that of the Gaures), or let us say, their separate

99. Shàh Abbàs the Great, desirous of increasing the commerce of Ispahàn, caused 1,500 Guebre families to come and settle outside the town on this side of the river Zenderoud. Under Abbas II, they quitted *Gebr-Abàd* and returned to the mountains. We see, in Kaempfer, that Abbas II transported in fact nearly six hundred agricultural families into the Armenian Colony of Sulpha, or Sjulfa, founded by his ancestor, and which, to the south, bordered on

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habitation, (special quarters), which,—like the new *Ciolja* inhabited by the Christian Armenians, like the new *Tauris*, or *Abbàs-Abàd*, where dwell the Mahomedans brought from *Tauris*,—adjoins Ispáhàn, just as if it were a suburb; and although, at present, it is separated from it by some gardens, nevertheless, with time,—for the number of inhabitants greatly increases every day,—Ispàhàn and this habitation of the *Gaures*, with the two others aforesaid, will make but one place. I am therefore doubtful whether to call them separate citadels, or suburbs, or rather considerable parts of this same town of Ispàhàn, as is the region beyond the Tiber and our city of Rome. This habitation of the *Gaures* has no other name that I know of than that of Gauristàn; that is to say, according to the Persians, 'the place of the infidels,' just as we call the quarters of the Jews, 'Jewry'. This place is very well built: the streets are wide and very straight, and much finer than those of *Ciolfa*, for it was built, later, with fuller design; but all the houses are low and one-storied, without any ornament,—quite consistent with the poverty of those that occupy them,—and in this respect very different from the houses of *Ciolfa*, which are magnificent and well planned; for the *Gaures* are poor and miserable,—at least they show every sign of being such; in fact, they are employed in no trade; they are simply like peasants,—in short, people earning their livelihood with much labour and difficulty. They are all dressed alike and in the same colour which resembles somewhat brick-red." (*Voyages*: French translation: Paris: 1661: vol. ii. p. 104).

About the same time, (1618), Figueroa, the ambassador of Philip III in Persia, remarks as follows:

the quarters of the Guebres. (*Amœnitates exoticæ*, &c., p. 164, Lemgoviæ, 1712).

"In the most eastern part of Persia, and in the province of *Kirmàn*, which forms its frontier to the east, there have remained some of those ancient and true Persians, who, although they have mixed with the others, and by identifying themselves with their conquerors, have become like one people, all the same, retain their primitive mode of living, their customs, and their religion. Thus, at this day, they adore the sun as did the ancient Persians during the period their empire was the first in this world, and, following their example, they invariably keep in their houses a lighted fire, which they keep up, unextinguished, [100] with as much care as did the Vestal Virgins of Rome." (*The Embassy of Don Garcias de Silva de Figueroa in Persia.* Trans. Wicquefort: Paris: 1667: p. 177).

Thevenot (1664-67) declares: "There are in Persia, at the present day, and particularly in Kerman, people who worship the fire like the Persians of old, and these are the Guebres. They are recognized by a dark-yellow coloured material of which the men and women like to have their dresses and veils made, these being the only ones who wear this colour. Moreover, the Guebre women never cover their faces, and, generally speaking, they are very well formed. These Guebres have a language which, with its characters, is understood only by them, and they are also very ignorant." (*Continuation of the Travels in the East*, 2nd Part, p. 116: Paris: 1674).

With Daulier (1665) we shall enter the quarters of the Guebres assigned to them by the Kings of Persia: "If you go about a quarter of a league from Julpha in the direction of the mountain, you will see a fine village composed of one long street. It is called *Guebrabad*, and is the dwelling place of the Guebres, or the Gauvres, who are said to be descended from the old Persians

100. [See my footnote 66, *ante*.—M.M.M.]

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who worshipped Fire. The king has given them this place to live in,—having destroyed them in many other places. They are dressed in a fine tan-coloured woollen stuff, the dress of the men being of the same form as that of the other Persians. But the women's dress is entirely different. They keep their faces uncovered, and wear round their heads a loosely tied scarf with a veil covering their shoulders,—not ill-resembling our gipsies (Bohemians.) Their drawers are like the upper part of Swiss hose, or breeches (*chausse*) reaching to their heels. Most of their stuffs are manufactured at Kirman, a large town on the south coast of Persia, where there are several of this sect. They are so reticent on the subject of their religion that it is difficult to learn anything certain about it. They do not bury their dead, but leave them in the open air in an enclosure. I entered some of their houses, where I saw nothing peculiar except that the women, far from avoiding us, as the others do, were very glad to see and speak to us." (*The Beauties of Persia*, p. 51).

Towards the same time (1665-1671) when Chardin went to Persia he found the Zoroastrians spread over the Caramanian desert, and chiefly in the provinces of Yezd and Kirman. He calls them 'Guebres' from the Arabic word *Gaur*, infidels or idolators, pronounced *Giaour* by the Turks:

"The Persian Fire-worshippers, (vol. ix. pp. 134 *et seq.*), are not so well formed, nor so fair, as the Mahomedan Persians, who are the Persians of this day. Nevertheless, the men are robust, having a fairly good stature, and are well featured. The women are coarse, with a dark olive complexion, due, I think, more to their poverty than to nature, for some among them have rather fine features. The men wear their hair and beards long; they put on a short-fitting jacket and a long woollen cap. They dress in

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As given by Chardin
(in 1665-1671 A. D.)

Zoroastrian Women in Persia.

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cotton, woollen, or mohair-stuff, and prefer the brown or dead-leaf colour as being perhaps most suited to their condition.....The women are very clumsily dressed. I have never seen anything showing such bad grace, nor anything further removed from *galanterie*.....The dress of the *Guebres* so greatly resembles the Arab dress that one would think the Arabs copied it from them when they conquered their country. They work either as ploughmen or as labourers, fullers, or workers in wool. They make carpets, caps, and very fine woollen stuffs.....Their chief occupation is agriculture ;.....they regard it not only as a fine and innocent employment, but also as a noble and meritorious one.....These *Ancient Persians* are gentle and simple in manners, and live very peacefully under the guidance of their elders, (*anciens*), who are also their magistrates, and who are confirmed in their authority by the Persian Government." Then follow numerous details concerning their manners, beliefs, and temples. The chief temple was then near Yezd, and the high priest, the *Dastoorè-Dastooran*, resided there. (Edition of Amsterdam: J. L. Delorme, MDCCXI.)

Ker-Porter (1818-1820) speaks also of the Guebres: Some of them, he says, poor and faithful to their religion, not having the means of gaining a distant shelter, remained slaves on their native soil, their souls raised to Heaven, their eyes bent to the ground, weeping over their profaned sanctuaries. While the wealthier ones were flying to the mountainous regions of the frontiers, or to the shores of India, these few faithful ones ended in finding comparative security in their extreme poverty, and took refuge in Yezd and Kirmàn, far from the eye of the conquerors. Yezd, even now, contains from four to five thousand of their descendants; and, on account of their relatively large number, they are allowed to practise their faith in a more open manner than in the smaller

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localities. In general, they are excellent cultivators, gardeners, artisans, etc. (*Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 46: London: 1821-1822.)

The census of the Guebre population, taken towards the end of this century, gives an absurd figure.[101] We find no vestige of them anywhere except in Yezd, and in the neighbourhood of Teherán, in Kàshàn, Shiràz, and Bushire. In 1854, according to the information furnished to the 'Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia', and quoted by Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka,[102] the total came to 7,200 individuals, *viz.*, 6,658 at Yezd, (3310 men, and 3,348 women): 450 in Kirmàn, 50 in Teheràn, and a few at Shiráz.[103]

101. [In a letter of the late Dr E. W. West, (published on pp. 439-446) in the "Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume" (1914), he says: "In 1511 four Iranian traders brought a *Maktab* to Gujerat, in which the Iranian Parsis estimate their own population in Sharfabad and Turkabad at 400, in Yezd at 500, in Kirman at 700, in Sistan at 2,700, and in Khorasan at 1,700, individuals (*nafar*). Supposing that *nafar* means "father of a family," this total of 6,000 *nafar* would imply a total Parsi population, in the districts mentioned, of between 25,000 and 30,000, probably no more than then existed in India."—M.M.M.]

102. *The Parsis: Their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, ch. ii. pp. 31 *et. seq.*, London, (1858.)

[The *Zoroastrian Calendar* for 1894-95 gives the figures for 1854 as: in Yezd 6658: Kerman 932: Shiraz 21: Teheran 100: Total 7711.—M.M.M.]

103. In fifteen years the number has risen by 18 per cent., or $1\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. per year; thus, in February 1878, there were 1,341 Zoroastrians in Kirman; in August 1879, the number had risen to 1,378, *viz.*, an increase of $1\frac{4}{5}$ per cent.

[For details of population, (male and female), of Zoroastrian Persians in the villages of Persia, see the *Zoroastrian Calendar* for 1894-95 A.D.—M.M.M.]

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According to the census of October 1879, by General Houtum-Schindler,[104] the Zoroastrian population comprised 8,499 individuals, of whom 4,367 were men and 4,132 women, they being distributed in the following manner: In Yezd, 1,242: in the surrounding districts, 5,241: in Kirman, 1,498: in the surrounding districts, 258: at Báhràmábàd, 58: at Teheràn, 150: at Kaschan, 15: at Shiráz, 25: at Bushire, 12. The latest census (1892) shows a sensible increase of the population, rising to 9,269 individuals.

[In 1892, Mr Kaikhusru Tirandaz Khoorsand, B.A.,[105] successor to the Parsi delegate Mr Hattaria, was requested by the abovenamed Bombay 'Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia,' to ascertain the number of his co-religionists in Persia, and the Report of that Society, published in 1893, gives the census to be 9,269, distributed as follows:—Yezd, 6,908: Kermàn, 1,973: Teheràn, 295:[106] Shiráz, 32: Kashan, 19: Kom, 3: Bushire, 3: Moshed, 2: Bunder Abas, 6, and enroute to Persia from

104. A.Houtum-Schindler: *Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache und einige ihrer Gebrauche.* (See *Z. D. M. G.*, 36 *ter* Band, pp. 54 *et seq.*: Leipzig, 1882). Dupre (1807-1809) and Kinneir (1810) register the number of Zoroastrians in Persia, and put it down at 4,000 families. Trezel (1807-9) raises it to 8,000 Guebres in Yezd and in the neighbouring villages; Christie (1819) and Fraser (1821) count about 3,000 families in all Persia; Abbot (1845) lowers the number to 800 families in Yezd and in the surrounding places. Petermann; (1854) counts 3,000 families, of whom 1,200 men were in Yezd; Goldsmid (1865), 4,500 Guebres in Yezd and Kirman; and finally Capt. Evan Smith (1870), 3,800 families.

105. [Mr Kaekhusru Tirandàz Khorsand died in Kerman on the 18th February 1893, and was succeeded by Mr Ardesir Edalji Reporter, who married, in Persia, a Zoroastrian Persian lady, accomplished in the French language.—M.M.M.]

106. [The *Jame Jamshed*, a Gujarati daily newspaper of Bombay, publishes, on 27th January 1904, a brief account of the Zoroastrian Persians in Teheran, and gives the population to be 423.—M.M.M.]

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Bombay, 28.[107] The Persian delegate, in submitting this census, observed that it was reported to him that on the way from Kashan to Yezd, one Ardeshir had colonized a place named 'Ardeshtán,' and that a fortress, for the shelter of the *Guebres*, is still standing on the same route in a place called Naistanàk. That, the fort is called 'Kille-e-guebre,' and that there are many indications of the place having been once occupied by Zoroastrians. That, on the way to a place called Agdà, the mixed language spoken is half Dari and half Persian as spoken at present. That this place, though not now inhabited by Zoroastrian Persians, yet contains the remnants of old *dokhmas* and *daremehers*. Mr Kaikhusru further reports that some evidence is forthcoming, of a place called Anàr, 112 miles south of Yezd, having been once occupied by Zoroastrians, one of the main localities being, even now, called *mahulle-e-jadid*, *i.e.*, the convert's colony. That, round about Anàr, in the villages called Fatta-àbàd, Sàdekàbàd, and Hasanàbàd are still to be seen the dilapidated walls of dokhmàs. That, it is said, the present inhabitants in Anàr and thereabouts are the converted descendants (of four or five generations back) of true Zoroastrians. That, in Turkàbàd, which is about 47 miles south of Yezd, there used to live a large number of Zoroastrians, and that there are signs of seven dokhmas having once existed,

107. [Statistics of Zoroastrian population in Persia, as furnished to Professor Jackson, of the Columbia University, by Ardesir Edalji Reporter, the present agent, in Persia, of the 'Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia,' have been given in Prof. Jackson's *Persia: Past and Present*, (1906). The figures are as follow :—

Yezd and vicinity, between 8,000 and 8,500: Kerman...Approximating 2,400. Teheran, 324: Kashan, 45: Shiraz, 42: Kum, 8: Isfahan, 6: Sultanabad, 4.

Total number, in Persia, about 11,000 Persian Zoroastrians.—M.M.M.]

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and of one *Adràn*, [= Chapel] which is at present used as a Mahomedan mosque. Of the total Zoroastrian population in the province of Yezd, *viz.*, 6,908 have been counted 1,422 men: 2,038 women: 1,942 boys: and 1,506 girls. In the province of Kermàn, out of 1,973, are 432 men: 544 women: 549 boys: and 448 girls. Of the 295 Zoroastrians in Teheran, 86 men, 47 women, 113 boys and 49 girls.] (108)

[From the Report of 1893, published under the authority of the Managing Committee of the 'Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia,' we find that twelve schools have been opened in Persia, and are supported from the funds collected by that Society. Of these, there is one in Teheràn. In Yezd:—Two in Mahalla: one in Khoramshàh: one in Koochebiog: one in Nasarábad: one in Taft: one in Safràbàd. In Kerman: two in Mahalla-e-Shehr, near the Fire-temple: and one in Joofàr. Four hundred and eighty-one pupils have been reported to have taken advantage of these schools, the largest number being in Yezd, *viz.*, 202, and in Khoramshàh, 84; at Nasaràbàd, 43.] (109)

[In a list prepared in 1892 and published in a Report of the same Society, we find that there is still in existence, in Yezd city, one *AtashBeheràm*, (Fire temple), which was repaired in Yezdezardi year 1225 at the expense of the Parsis of India, through the late Mr Maneckji Limji Hataria, the first Parsi delegate of the said Society to Persia. There is another Atashbeheràn in Kermàn city. There are 24 *Adràn*, (110) located in and around Yezd, as

108. [This information has been inserted by me. See the *Zoroastrian Calendar* for 1894-95, p. 62.—M.M.M.]

109. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

110. [The general term, *Atash-Kadeh*, is applied to *Atash-Beheram* as well as to *Atash-Adran* or *Atash-e-Dadgàh*. *Atash-kadeh*

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follows:—Four in Yezd, one in Nasràbàd, one in Khoramshàh, one in Moriábád, one in Taft, one in Koochebiogh, one in Majre-Kàsamábàd, one in Arestàn, one in Sharfabàd, one in Majre-Kalantar, one in Kasnavià, one in Alla-àbád, one in Jainabad, one in Rehematabad, one in Mootarka, one in Khairabad, one in Jafrabad, one in Cham, one in Hussein-abad, one in Nain-abad (Abeshah), one in Ahmad-abad,—where only one Zoroastrian family resides; and one in Kanàtakshan in the province of Kerman.][111]

Yezd and Kirmàn are the two most important towns, the former being about two hundred miles south-east of Ispáhàn, the latter about three hundred and eighty miles from the sea,—the port of Bunder Abbas. They are both situated on the confines of two extensive deserts, the Dasht-i-Kavir and the Dasht-i-Lut, which, to the north, cover an area of over five-hundred miles, and which are separated by a chain of rocky mountains through which

means a sanctuary for keeping a fire alight. For sanctifying an *Atash-Beheram*, ceremonies, for one year, have to be performed, whereas, for an *Atash-Adrán*, only four days' ceremony is sufficient. Details of consecration of an *Atash-Behedm* have been given by me in Chapter VI, "Fêtes," *post*. See also my footnotes 346, *post*, in re *'Dar-i-mihr'* and 395, *post*, in re *Atash-e-Dádgáh*.—M.M.M.]

111. [This note has been placed here by me. See also Ervad Dadabhai Kharshedji Dordi's *Pooratam Atashkhánd*: (A descriptive and historical account of the *Atashkadehs* of Ancient Irán and those in existence at the present day: (3rd ed: 1887): Printed at the Bombay Vartman Press). This brochure contains very interesting information, but its principal defect is, that, except for some events, the compiler does not cite his authorities from which his information is drawn. I find, however, from the opinions of the Press attached to the brochure, that the same has been compiled with great care and intelligence.—For details of AtashBeheràms, Adrán and *dokhmá* (Towers-of-Silence) in the whole of Persia, see *Zoroastrian Calendar* for 1894-95, pp. 68 *et seq*.—M.M.M,]

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Modern-day Zoroastrian Male-citizens of Teheran.

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the caravans trace their way with difficulty. This region is hardly known to Europeans.(112)

Yezd (113) communicates with the rest of Iran (Persia) only by the caravan roads. On leaving the argillaceous plateaus, the rocks and the sand hills, the town and the villages around seem to emerge from a veritable oasis of mulberry trees; the desert begins at the very foot of the town-walls where the storm-driven sand is heaped up. A line of ruins surrounds it, and testifies to its ancient extent. Yezd is, however, prosperous. It contains a population of from seventy to eighty thousand inhabitants, composed of the most diverse elements—amongst others, 2,000 Jews, (still obliged to wear, on their cloaks,

112. Two young officers of the Indian Army have lately attempted to cross the frightful solitudes of Dusht-i-Kavir. (See *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, for November, 1891, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. October, 1891.) Dusht-i-Lut has been more easy to explore, although the danger is not less, owing to the clouds of sand raised by the winds.

113. *Yezd.*—"Yezd enjoys a temperate climate. It is surrounded by canals and aqueducts which carry the water into the interior of the town. There are constructed, there, reservoirs and cisterns, structures as remarkable as those which are seen at Kashan. Most of the houses and edifices, although built of raw bricks, are of great solidity. Besides, the rainfall is very scarce in that country. The town is well built and very clean, because care is taken to have the rubbish removed every day from it, which rubbish is used to manure the fields. Wheat, cotton, and silk are produced there, but the wheat is not abundant enough to suffice for food, and some wheat is, therefore, imported from Kirman and Shiraz, so that its price is somewhat high. Among the fruits of Yezd are praised figs, called *misqali*, and pomegranates. The inhabitants, formerly Shafeites, belong now to the Shiite sect; they are almost all weavers, and are known for their honesty and by their gentleness, which degenerates even into weakness. Hamd Allah Mustofi, while doing justice to the loyalty of the merchants, accuses the brokers of that town of intolerable arrogance and pride."—(Zinet-el Medjalis.) (*Cf.* Nouzhet, p. 602). See B. de Meynard, *Dict. Geog., Hist., &c.*, p. 611, note 1. *(Continued)*

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the badge of their disgrace), and some Hindoos, called to this place by their business affairs.

There are five reservoirs, *abambars*, fifty mosques eight *madressa*, and sixty-five public-baths. A post-office ensures a regular weekly service with Bander-Abbàs and Bushire. The telegraph puts it in communication with Kirmàn and Ispahàn. Commerce flourishes. About the middle of this century, eighteen hundred manufactories gave work to nine-thousand workmen. Nowadays the number is, however, less.

It is here that we find, grouped together, the scattered remnants of the Zoroastrian community. The Guebres devote themselves chiefly to gardening and the cultivation of mulberry trees, notably of the species of brown fibre, for tailoring garments, the wearing of which was formerly incumbent on them. But a great change has taken

During nearly two centuries, the governors (*atabegs*) of Yezd, like those of Lauristan, maintained their independence; but in the thirteenth century Ghazan Khan supplanted them. As for the modern travellers who have visited those regions, this is what is known of them: Marco Polo traversed Yezd in 1272; the monk Odoric in 1325; and Josafa Barbaro in 1474. It was then a city surrounded with walls nearly five miles in circumference, and well known by its silk trade. Tavernier, in the seventeenth century, stayed there for three days, enough to make him extol the fruits and the beauty of the women of that place. Similarly, in the nineteenth century, European *savants* made acquaintance with that region. Christie, having left Pottinger in Baloochistan, traversed it while returning from Herat (1810). See A. Dupre (1808), *Voyage im Persia*, vol. ii, ch. xi. ii.; Dr A. Petermann (1854), *Reisen im Orient*, vol. ii. ch. xii. pp. 203 *et seq*; N. de Khanikoff (1859), *Memoir*, pp, 202-204; A. H. Schindler (1879), *Zeit. f. Gesell d. Erd. zu Berlin*; Curzon (1889), *Persia*, vol. ii. ch. xxiii. pp. 238-243, London, 1892. [Edward Browne, "*A Year amongst the Persians*," (1887-88), Chapters XIII and XIV: S. G. W. Benjamin, lately United States Minister to Persia: The Story of the Nations series: "*Persia*": Published by T. Fisher Unwin: London (1891): containing a brief and concise history of Persia, from the reign of Feridoon down to Persia under the Mahomedans.—M.M.M.]

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place, and such a trader now employs a thousand camels. There are schools there, four fire-temples, and several towers-of-silence. About twenty kilometres to the south-west, is the town of Taft, where has been preserved, for a very long time, the permission to keep up openly the sacred fire. The community has a high priest, ('dastoor'), and also a lay-chief, Ardesir Meherban. Some of the Guebres are naturalized English subjects, and, thanks to them, for the last fifty years, the trade of Yezd has grown by their intercourse with India. Their *rôle* is similar to that performed in the open ports of Japan by the *compradores* and the Chinese agents, into whose hands nearly all business passes. This activity is due to the efforts of their co-religionists in India, for, in spite of their recognized probity and practical intelligence, the Guebres have long been the butt of the most vexatious humiliations.

Kirmán [114] is the chief city of Caramania, and stands in the centre of four great highways which run from

114. *Kermán.*—The name is written sometimes *Kirmân*; but the first pronunciation seems more correct. It is a vast and populated country, situate in the third climate; longitude 19 deg., latitude 30 deg. It contains a great number of districts, towns, and boroughs. Its boundaries are: To the east, Mokran and the desert which extends between Mokran and the sea, hear the country of the *Belouth* [Beloochees]; to the west, Fars; to the north, the deserts of Khorassan and Sejestan; to the south, the sea of Fars. On the frontier of Sirdjan, Kirman makes an angle and advances into the boundaries of Fars; it has also a bend on its southern sides. Kirman is rich in palm-trees, corn, cattle, and beasts of burden. It offers an analogy to the province of Basrah by the number of its rivers and the fertility of its territory. This is what has been said by Mahomed bin Ahmed-el-Beshari: "Kerman participates in the natural qualities of Fars. It resembles by its productions the country of Basrah, and it has also some analogical reference to Khorassan. In fact, its sides are washed by the sea; it unites the advantages of hot and cold climates. It produces the nut-tree and palm-tree, and yields in abundance the two best species of dates, and produces the most varied trees and fruits. Its principal cities are, Dji-

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the south and the west. Its situation makes it a very important centre of commerce between the Persian Gulf and the markets of Khorassan, Bokhàrà, and Balk. Of the twelve thousand Guebres who were formerly resident in this locality, there only remain, (according to the census taken in 1878 by the order of the Governor), thirteen hundred and forty-one.[115] At the time of the Arab invasion, Kirmán served as a place of refuge for King Yezdezard, and passed successively into the hands of the Beni-Buzak, the Seldjoakides Turks, the kings of Kharezm (Khiva), and a Kara-Kitaienne family which

raft, Menouqan, Zarend, Bemm, Sirjan (or Shirajan), Nermasir, and Berdesir. Tuteang (*toutia*) is collected there and is imported in large quantities. The inhabitants are virtuous, honest, and much attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy. But a great part of this country is depopulated and ruined, on account of the different masters who possessed it, and the tyrannical domination of its Sultans. For many years, instead of having been governed by a particular dynasty, it has been administered by governors who have had no other occupation than to amass wealth and to make it pass into Khorassan. Now, this emigration of the resources of a country to the profit of another is one of the surest causes of its ruin; besides, the presence of a king and a court contributes much to the prosperity of a state. The epoch of the glory and splendour of Kerman reaches to the reign of the Seldjouqide dynasty, and during that happy period, a great number of foreigners fixed their residence there." See B. de Meynard, *Dict. Geog., Hist., &c.*, pp. 482 *et seq.*

Among the modern travellers who have visited Kirman since the commencement of the century, see Sir H. Pottinger (1810), *Travels in Beloochistan*, chap. x.; N. de Khanikoff (1859), *Memoirs*, pp. 186-198; Curzon (1889), *Persia*, vol. ii. ch. xxii. pp. 243-246.

[As to the history of the founding of this city, and the etymology of its name, see J. J. Modi: *Asiatic Papers*, pp. 174 and 187.—M.M.M.]

115. In 1878 the numbers were 39,718 Mussalmans, 1341 Parsis, 85 Jews, and 26 Hindoos, which gives a total 41,170 souls. The Hindoos and Mussalmans have come, for the most part, from Sindh and Shikarpur. Some have established, at Bahramabad, great commercial firms.

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remained in power till the year 1300; and it was also the See of the Nestorian metropolitan bishopric of Fars. This city had to suffer much from the invasions, from the east and west, of Gengiskhan, Timour, the Afghans, and Nadirshah. The siege it sustained in 1794, is memorable for the massacres ordered by Agà Mahomed Khán.[116] It was within its walls that the last of the family of the Zends, Luft Alikhan, had entrenched himself. Betrayed by his followers, the young prince contrived, however, to escape the cruelty of the redoubtable Kadjar eunuch. For three months the soldiers committed all sorts of excesses, the town was given up to plunder[117] and finally razed. A little later, having been re-built by Fath-Ali-Sháh, it recovered by degrees its ancient prosperity, thanks to a capable and at the same time avaricious and stern governor, Vekil-ul-Mulk. The ruins of Kirmàn occupy a length of three miles. In 1879, the modern town contained 42 mosques, 53 public baths, 5 *madressa*, 50 schools, 4 large and 22 small bazaars, and 9 caravanserais. Its commerce is flourishing, the carpets and shawls, manufactured there, being very wonderful.

The physical and moral condition of the Guebres has changed very little in Persia. By their contact with the Mussalmans they have neither relaxed nor become enervated in their condition. The women, of whom the majority belong to poor families, are renowned for their chastity, while the men are so famous for their morality that they are particularly employed in the

116. Malcolm: *History of Persia*, vol. ii. ch. xxi. p. 271.

117. It is reported that the conqueror caused to be presented, to himself, on dishes, 35,000 pair of eyes! Thirty thousand women and children were reduced to slavery. . . . It is at Bam, a small village 140 miles to the south-east of Kirman, that Luft Ali Khan was made a prisoner and delivered over to his enemy, who, with his own hands, tore out his eyes before causing him to perish. Sir H. Pottinger saw, in 1810, a trophy of 600 skulls raised in honour of the victory of Aga Mohammed!

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gardens of the Sháh. From an ethnographical point of view, this is what can be said: we follow the *resume* given by M. Houssay: (118)

"When the Arabs, by right of conquest, imposed a new religion on the Persians, the fusion of the Turano-Aryans had been already, for the greater part, accomplished in the north and east of the empire. At this time, there was no difference of race, manners, customs, or religion, between the ancestors of the Mahomedan Persians and those of the real Guebres. Separated, to-day, as surely by their religion as by vast extent of space, they no longer commingle; but being descended from the same ancestors, and neither having undergone any modification since that period, we find them again, today, not unlike each other in the same region.....The only ethnical element which could have been introduced among the Persian Mahomedans, and not among the Guebres, would be the Semitic element traceble to the Arab conquerors. But it was not so. The soldiers of Islam were indeed sufficiently fanatical and violent to impose their laws and religion on the people, but not sufficiently numerous to effect any change in them. It would be practically quite the truth to say that this invasion has left no traces outside the families of the Seides. The language alone has felt its influence; all words connected with religion and government are Arabic. The Guebres should be all the less regarded as pure descendants of the Aryans, as they resemble their Mussulman neighbours, and are, on the other hand, not all of the same type. Those of Yezd have, according to Khanikoff, Aryan characteristics, not because they are Guebres, but because they dwell in a country adjoining Fars. Those of Teheran resemble the

118. See Dieulafoy: *Acropole de Suse.* &c. Appendix: *The Human Races of Persia*, pp. 87 *et seq.* See also Duhouesset; *The Populations of Persia*, pp. 4—7; N. de Khanikoff: *Ethnography of Persia*, pp. 19, 47, 50, 56, etc.

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other inhabitants of Teheran. The Parsis of India, whose ancestors preferred exile to conversion, are more like the Parsis of Persia, and differ from their co-religionists of the North. Since their exodus, they have not at all mixed with the people who received them. They are such as they were then. Thus, at the time of the Arabic conquest, there was no single and individual race. The ethnical distribution, which can be observed even now, existed already. The Guebres who remained in Persia were the Turano-Aryans; the emigrants, who had chiefly started from the south of the kingdom, were Aryans." (119)

[Mr S. G. W. Benjamin, lately United States Minister to Persia, speaking of the Persians, (page 130 of his *Persia and the Persians*), thus refers to the remnants of the ancient Persians in Persia:—"Although the present population of Persia is so limited, it is yet anything but homogeneous. The genuine Persians or Iránees are of course found in all parts of the country, but they are naturally most numerous in their old strong-hold, comprising the Central Province of Irâk and South Western Persia. They are a handsome, witty, vivacious, and intelligent race of Aryan stock; their language is Sanscrit, but greatly modified by the changes of time and the additions of Arabic words, which have crept in with the

119. According to General Houtum-Schindler (see *Memoir* already cited, pp. 82-84), the hairs of the Zoroastrains are smooth and thick, generally black, or of a dark-brown colour; one seldom meets with a clear brown colour, never with the red. In Kirman, some beards do assume this colour, but they incline rather to the yellowish. The eyes are black, or of an intense brown, sometimes grey or blue; the eyebrows habitually thick and well furnished among men, delicate and well shaped among women. The complexion is generally tawny; the cheeks are coloured only among some women. The inhabitants of the cities are pale in appearance, and not robust; those of the towns are robust and well proportioned. We regret not to be able to insert certain types sent for us from Yezd, the printing of this work being too far advanced to enable us to make use of them.

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adoption of Mahometism. They represent the intelligent part of the population. To them are due the arts, the philosophy, the science, and the poesy for which Persia is famous. Since the fall of Persepolis, the most interesting cities of Persia have been Shiràz and Ispàhàn. Hafiz and Sa'adi composed their immortal strains amid the bowers of Shiràz, and their tombs are there to this day embowered with roses. The great Shah Abbàss revived the arts of Isphahàn, and her artists are still the most brilliant in the land. These facts illustrate the intellectual qualities of the Iránees, for Shiráz and Ispahan are Aryan cities. Although the Iranees have intermarried with foreign slaves, they have never done so to the same degree as the Turks, and they have generally selected Circassian women; as the result, their race is comparatively genuine, what intermixture there has been having rather tended to improve than deteriorate the quality of the original stock. In the small number of Guebres, or fire-worshippers, who still survive, we find, more nearly than elsewhere, remains of the race whom Cyrus led to victory; for the Guebres have never intermarried with any other people. They are now found chiefly at Yezd and Teheràn, where they are generally devoted to silk-weaving and husbandry. They are called Guebres, which is a corruption of the word *Kàfeer*, or 'infidel'; but they should properly be called '*Parsees*,' a term that is still applied to those fire-worshippers who, flying from persecution, established themselves at Bombay. The word *Parsee* is derived from *Pars*, the old name of the province where the Persian nation was born, and from which we derive the modern name of Persia. In the Persian language, the letters *p* and *f* are often interchangeable, and hence the province of Pars is now called Fars, and Isphahan is often pronounced Isfahan."] (120)

120. [This extract has been placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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The condition of the Zoroastrians who had remained behind in Persia had been, as we have said, always miserable. In 1511, they wrote to their co-religionists who had taken refuge at Naosâri, that since the reign of Kaiomars[121] they had not endured such sufferings, even under the execrable government of Zohâk, Afrasiâb, Tur, and Alexander! As a matter of fact, the ties, so long broken between the two communities, were happily renewed from the end of the fifteenth century. At this period Changa Asa,[122] a rich and pious Parsi of Naosari, sent, at his own expense, and on behalf of the communities of Nausâri, Surat, Cambay, and Ankleswar, a learned layman, Narimân Hoshang, with the view of acquiring, from the members of the Iranian clergy, certain information regarding important religious questions.[123] (*Pârsi Prakâsh*, vol. I. pp. 6-7.)

In another letter, to their co-religionists in India, dated, from Serfâbâd, September 1, 1486, Nariman Hoshang declared that all the Iranians had been desiring, for centuries, to know if any of their co-religionists still existed on the other side of the world! After an absence of several years, he returned to India, and, eight years later, went back to Persia, where he received most curious information. These statements are confirmed by the letters of the Guebres addressed to the Parsi community of India (1511), in which it is said that "since their departure from Persia to the arrival of Nariman Hoshang (in all thirty years), the Mazdiens had not known that their co-religionists had settled in India, and that it was only through Nariman Hoshang that they had come to know of it."

121. [*Kaiomars*: See my footnote 350, in Chaper VI, "Fêtes." —M.M.M.]

122. [For Chángá Asâ, see my footnote 68, *ante*.—M.M.M.]

123. [This is the *first* instance known of a Parsi travelling out of India, since the immigration of the Parsis into India.—M.M.M.]

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[In *Cama Memorial Volume*, written specially, and dedicated to Mr K. R. Cama, on the occasion of his seventieth birth-day in A. D. 1900, Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, contributes a Paper, in English, in which, at pp. 170 *et seq.*, he observes as follows :— "For centuries after their advent in India, they (the Parsis) preserved their old forms and ceremonies, following the ancient traditions. But, latterly, when they separated and spread themselves into the different parts of Gujarat, they lost their hold of some of the old customs and rites. At last, growing doubtful as regards the authenticity of some points, the Parsis of Nowsari, Surat, Broach, Cambay (Khambât), and Ankleshar, in the year 1478 A. D., agreed upon sending one Nariman Hoshang, an intelligent and brave Parsi of Broach, to the learned dusturs and mobeds of Persia, to have a satisfactory solution of several questions, pertaining to religion and forms of ceremonies. Nariman Hoshang returned to India with a reply to his questions, dated 22nd August 1478 A. D. At the commencement of their reply, the learned dusturs of Iran say, [in Persian, translated into English] thus :—'From Kayomars up to this day, no time has been harder and more calamitous than the end of this millenium; and neither the period of Zohâk-è-Tâzi,[124] nor that of

124. [*Dahâk* : *Zohâk* : "Also called 'Azi Dahâk,' (Avesta: *azis dahako*, 'destructive serpent'), a name applied to a foreign dynasty, considered as a single king who conquered Yim [Jamshid of the *Shahnameh*] and succeeded him, being traditionally his third cousin, once removed. (See *Bundahish* XXXXI, 5, 6; XXXIV. 5). Further details are given in Book IX, ch. XXI. 1—13, of the *Dinkard*. Dahâk was the last ruler of all the seven regions, excepting Kai-Us."

Darmsteter, in the *Sacred Books of the East* series, vol. XXIII, p. 60, footnote 2, says :

"*Azi Dahaka*, literally, 'the fiendish snake,' was first a mythical personage; he was the 'snake,' of the storm-cloud, and a counterpart of the Vedic '*Ahi*' or '*Vritra*'. He appears still in that character in

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Afrasyab,[125] nor that of the sorceror Tur,[126] nor that of Alexander the Greek,—of whom the Creator Hormazd says they are gross sinners,—no period has been worse than the end of this millenium, of which Hormazd has made mention, of which 847 years have already passed. Moreover, at this time, the faithful have little help to perform meritorious actions in the path of Hormazd; and only a little of

in *Yasht* XIX, *seq.*, where he is described struggling for the *Hvareno* against *Atar* (Fire), in the sea Vourukasha...His struggle with Yima Khshaeta bore, at first, the same mythological character, 'the shining Yima', being originally, like the Vedic Yama, a solar hero; when Yima was turned into an earthly king, *Azi* underwent the same fate. In the *Shah-nameh* he is described as a man with two snakes springing from his shoulders; they grew there through a kiss of Ahriman's." See, also, Windeschmann: *Zend-studien* s. 136.—M.M.M.]

125. [*Afrasyab*: or Frangrasyan: He "was king of Turan, for 200 years. The perpetual struggle between Iran and Turan, which lasts to this day, was represented, in the legend, by the deadly and endless wars between Afrasyab and the Iranian kings from Minokihr down to Kaikhosrav (Kavi Husravah). The chief cause of the feud was the murder of Syavakhsh (Syavarshana) by Afrasyab; Syavakhsh, son of Kaikaus (Kava Usa), having been exiled by his father at the instigation of his mother-in-law, took refuge with Afrasyab, who received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but the fortune of Syavakhsh raised the jealousy of Afrasyab's brother, Karsvaz (Keresavazda), who, by means of calumnious accusations, extorted from Afrasyab an order for putting him to death. (See *Yasht* XIX. 77). Syavakhsh was revenged by his son, Kai Khosrav, the grandson of Afrasyab. (See *Yasht* IX. 22."—Darmsteter: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXIII, p. 64, footnote I. See, also, *Parsi Din Ayin ane Tavarikhi Farhang*, (in Gujarati), edited by Burjorji Erachji Bajan. (1908)—M.M.M.]

126. [King Faredun had three sons, one of whom being Túr, his descendants were called 'Turanians', after his name, while the Iranians were named after Iraj or Iran, the third son of Faredun.—See *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, p. 37. This is one of the explanations, variously offered, for the origin of the names of the countries of Turan and Iran.—M.M.M.]

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Nirang, *Barsam*, Purification, Purity, and Abstinence has remained; the rest has gone out of use. That, [as Nariman Hoshang informs] in Nowsari there is a chief *Behdin*,[127] a *dâvar* named Changa Shah who has caused the poll-tax (*Jaziyah*) to be removed from the faithful of Nowsari. Again it is known [from Nariman Hoshang] that they employ the infidels to carry to the towers the dead bodies of the faithful: and that, there are wooden biers (*gehân*) in Cambay and Anklesar. We wish that two intelligent priests may come hither, [Persia], and study the Pahlvi writings, and distinguish the proper from the improper. As to the route, the land-route is short, and from Sistan to Yezd there is no fear'.

"Nariman Hoshang, (continues B. B. Patel), went a second time to Persia in 1486, to receive replies to further inquiries. At the commencement of the reply it is stated :— 'Since many years the Faithful of Persia, who are few in number, are very anxious and desirous that they may receive some clue to the existence of the Faithful in any other country.' In the year 1511, a third epistle was received from Persia, wherein it is said :—'Under the decline of the Arab dynasty and the succession of the Turks, we did not know whether the Faithful existed in the country of India. Thirty-five years previous to this date, the late Nariman Hoshang came here, bringing with him letters addressed to us by the late Behram Shah, and Changa Shah, and by the assembly of the Faithful and the head-priests. We had sent our reply twenty-nine years ago, written by Noshirwan Khusru and Marzban Aspandyar. You have not written to us anything during this long interval of years, and we do not know anything of the condition of the Faithful on your side.' Inquiries and

127. [*Behdin* literally means 'of the good religion,'—the 'faithful'. The term has been fully explained by me in chapter VIII, in *re* "Investiture" with 'sudreh' and 'kushti'.—M.M.M.]

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explanations were often made in this way up to the year 1768 A. D."] (128)

From 1511 the relations between the Guebres and the Parsis were sufficiently close. As far back as 1527, one Kàmà Asà, from Cambay, had gone to Persia, and procured a complete copy of the *Ardà-Viráf-Nameh.* (129) In 1626, the Parsis of Bharooch [Broach], Surat, and Naosari sent to Persia a learned man, of Surat, named Behman Aspandiar, charged with numerous questions. He brought back the answers, and also two religious books, the *Vishtàsp-Yasht* (130) and the *Vispered.* (131) (*Parsi Prákásh,* vol. I. p. 11.) The information, thus obtained by intelligent emissaries, for a long time guided the Parsis in India in their decisions regarding social and religious questions, and formed the collection of the *Rivayats.* (132) At the same time, the members of the community in India were not in a position to alleviate

128. [These details are too interesting to be omitted by me in this place. See also *Parsi Prakash,* pp. 6 and 7 of vol. I.—M.M.M.]

129. [*Ardae-Viraf Nameh*: For a descriptive account of this book, see my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post.* —M.M.M.]

130. [*Vishtasp Yasht*: See my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post.*—M.M.M.]

131. [*The Vispered*: See my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post.*—M.M.M.]

132. [*Rivayats*: or codes of usages and rituals: "The *Rivayat* literature,—a collection of questions and answers, on ritual observances, exchanged between the Parsis of India and their co-religonists in Persia, between the 15th and 18th centuries,—enables us to gain an insight into the theological beliefs of the Zoroastrians of Persia during that time,....."—Dastur Dr M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology,* p. 302.

Dastur Dr Dhalla devotes his Chapter XXXV (pp. 307—310) to this subject of the *Rivayats,* which he has classed in the "Period of Decadence,"—of the Zoroastrian religion,—from the 7th to the 18th century A.D.

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the miseries of their Persian brethren, and each century brought to the latter a fresh increase of sufferings and troubles.

Four revolutions contributed to the decimation of the Zoroastrian population of Kirmàn. The Ghilzi-Afghàns, who had long groaned under the yoke of the Persians,

" Twenty-two such *Rivayets* were formed out of the explanations brought from Persia by the undermentioned Parsis from 1478 down the year 1768 :—

A.D.
1478 Nariman Hoshang of Broach.
1486 „ „
1511 Name not known.
1527 Cama Asa of Cambay.
1535 Aspandyar Yezdyar and Rustom of Cambay.
1540 Cama Vohra of Surat.
1542 Kaus Cama of Cambay.
1559 Kamdin Shapur of Cambay.
1597 Kaus Mahiyar of Broach.
1601 Kaus Mahiyar and Mahiyar Rustom of Cambay.
1612 Aspandyar *bin* Sorab of Surat.
1612 Aspandyar *bin* Sorab, of Surat.
1626 Bahman Aspandyar of Surat, from Turakabad.
1627 „ „ from Yezd.
1627 „ „ from Kerman.
1649 Rustom Jandel, of Persia.
1668 Meherwan Jandel of Surat.
1670 Rustom Khurshed Aspandyar, of Naosari.
1673 Cama Vohra, of Cambay.
1683 Jamshed Hirji Nanabhai, of Surat.
1768 Kaus Rustom Jalal of Broach, (father of the well-known Kadmi Dastur Mulla Feruz.)

"Some hundreds of religious dogmas are propounded and explained in those *Revayets*, and they were, for a long time, honoured as the mouth-piece of the indigenous Parsi Religion."—See pages 173, 174, *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume* : Paper contributed by B. B. Patel.

For a translation, in quaint old Gujarati, of the replies received from Persia,—containing seventy-eight questions and answers, see Fardunji Murzbanji's book, published in 1846 A. D. at the Daftar Ashkara Press, Bombay. See, also, Ervad Rastamji Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana's *Revâyete Darab Hamjyar*, published in the Gujarati language, in1896 A. D., at Naosari. Dastur Darab, of Bulsar, had collected, in 1054 A. Y., the *Revayets* received from Persia from time to time, and hence the name given to the collection by its editor. Dastur Burjor Kamdin, of Naosari, had collected these Revayets, and his collection

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rose at last under the command of a brave and intelligent chief, called Mir Vais, who quickly made himself master of Khàndàhar.[133] The Persian monarch Hussein, powerless to reduce them by arms, tried to bring them back to a sense of duty by sending emissaries, who were, however, treated with contempt. The Afghan chief who succeeded Mir Vais resolved in his turn to be avenged by invading Persia as soon as an opportunity presented itself. It came soon. Whilst the north-east frontier of the kingdom was threatened by the Abdali-Afghans of Herat, and whilst the Arabian Prince of Muscat was taking possession of the coast of the Persian Gulf, Mahmoud, who had succeeded his father, Mir Vais, in the government of Khandahar, made an irruption into Persia. This invasion of the Ghilzi Afghans was the greatest catastrophe to the Zoroastrian community, Mahmood having preferred to pass through Kirman rather than risk the deserts of Seistan. Massacres and forced conversions drove the faithful band to despair.

At the time of the second invasion of Mahmood, he persuaded the Zoroastrians of Yezd and Kirman to join his troops, and avenge the wrongs they had suffered for centuries.[134] It is needless to say that these unfortunates, too confiding, allowed themselves to be convinced and enlisted. What do we know of their ultimate fate? What became of them under the standard of Mahmood after the victory of Isphahan? (October 21, 1722: H.

is similarly called, after his name, *Burjor Kamdin's Revàyets*. Meherji Rana's work contains, (in its Preface), an excellent history of the *Revayets*,—both the old and the new. One special feature of this book is that, in it, are compared some of the more important answers, received from Persia, with what is stated in the *Avesta* on the same points.—M.M.M.]

133. Malcolm: *History of Persia*, vol. I., ch. xv, pp. 607 *et seq.*

134. Hanway, vol. ii. p. 153.

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1135).[135] Were they better treated, and did they receive any recompense? There is reason to believe that their condition, far from being ameliorated, became worse.

It is recorded that, under the reign of Nadir-Shah and his successors, the Zoroastrians had again to elect between the frightful alternatives of conversion and death. At the time of the siege of Kirmàn, of which we have spoken, many Zoroastrians were put to the sword, and their quarters laid waste and destroyed for ever.

This series of vicissitudes and misfortunes accounts for the small number of the survivors, their precarious life, their difficulties in the practice of their religion, and the dispersion of their sacred books. In the time of Ibn Haukhal, each village had its temple, its priests, and its sacred book. According to Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka, in 1858 there were thirty-four Fire Temples in Yezd and its environs. At present there are four in Yezd itself, eighteen in the neighbouring villages, and one at Kirman. As for the sacred books, there are only those that are to be found in India. Westergaard, who visited Persia in 1843, writing to his friend, the late Rev. Dr Wilson of Bombay, to inform him of his disappointment, says :[136] "I stopped at Yezd eleven days, and though I often went out among them, I did not see more than sixteen or seventeen books in all; two or three copies of the *Vandidad Sade*,[137] and the *Izeshne*,[137] (which they call *Yasht*), and six or seven of the *Khurdah Avasta*,[137] of which I

135. Malcolm: *History of Persia*, vol. i. xv. p. 642.—The chief of one of the corps of Guebres at the siege of Isphahan was called by the Mussulman name of Nasser-ullah. Hanway considers him as a Parsi or Guebre.

136. Letter from Prof. Rev. Westergaard to the Rev. Dr Wilson, written in 1843, in *Journal As. of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. viii., p. 350. (1846),

137. [For this religious book, see my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post*.—M.M.M.]

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got two and part of a third. These, besides part of the *Bundehesh*,[137] and part of another Pahlavi book, were all I could get, though I tried hard to obtain more, especially a part of the *Izeshne* with a Pahlavi, or, as they say Pazand translation, of which there is only one copy in Europe, at Copenhagen."

The same traveller, speaking of the Zoroastrians who resided in Kirman, expresses himself in these terms: "They had only two copies of the *Vandidad*[137] and *Yasna*, but a great many of the *Khurdah Avasta*, which, however, they would not part with.....No one here can read Pahlavi. They complain that when Aga Muhammad Khan gave the town up to indiscriminate plunder and slaughter, most of their books were destroyed, and great numbers killed....."

One of the harshest concomitant circumstances of the conquest of Persia had always been a tax called *Jazia*. The Mahomedans were the only persons exempted from this tax, all the other infidel-inhabitants of the kingdom, —Armenians, Jews, and Zoroastrians,—being subject to it. The Armenians of Tauris and of the villages of Persia situated near the frontier, have been relieved of this tax by the exertions of the Russian Government. It is difficult to arrive at an estimate of the tax paid by the Armenians and the Jews, but this is certain,—and the fact has been verified,—that the annual tax imposed upon the Zoroastrians rose to 660 tománs. The governors and collectors having gone on increasing its amount in order to profit by the surplus, the sum rose to nearly 2,000 tomàns, or £ 1,000 sterling, about 25,000 francs of French money. According to statistics, a thousand Zoroastrians were compelled to pay this *Jazia* tax. Of these, two hundred could pay it without difficulty, four hundred with much trouble: the rest were absolutely incapable, even under pain of death. The most distressing scenes have

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ensued at the time of the collection of this onerous tax.[138] Sometimes, these unfortunate beings turned to their brethren in India in the hope of obtaining a favourable intervention with the Persian Government, such as some of the European Powers had effectually attempted in certain cases. Branded with the appellation of *Guebres*, or 'Infidels,' they endured, at the hands of the Mussulmans, sufferings similar to those endured in India by the members of the Màhàr caste at the hands of the well-born Hindoos.[139] All relations, all intercourse with them were deemed tainted with pollution. A host of lucrative occupations were forbidden to them. Moreover, we know the frightful inequality of laws in Mahomedan countries, where the general rule is to grant aid and protection to the 'true believers,' and to ignore these rights in the case of the infidels. Instances of this are too numerous to be

138. We cannot here recount odious details which a single word will characterize: they were veritable *dragonnades*.

139. General Houtum-Schindler ascertained that, before the abolition of the *Jazia*, [for which see footnotes 144 and 146, *post*], the position of the Guebres was good enough, and infinitely better than that of the Jews at Teheran, Kashan, Shiraz, and Bushire, whilst at Yezd and in Kirman, on the contrary, the position of the Jews was preferable. The hardships endured were very cruel. (See Houtum Schindler's *Memoir* already cited.) Here are the principal grievances of the Guebres: they were threatened with forced conversion: property belonging to a Zoroastrian family was confiscated for the use and profit of the Zoroastrian roselytes, to Mahomedanism in disregard of the rights of the legitimate heirs: property newly acquired was susceptible of being burdened with taxes for the benefit of the 'Mullas' up to a fifth of its value: there was a prohibition against building new houses and repairing old ones: the Guebres could not put on new or white coats, nor could they ride on horseback: the traders had to submit to taxes in addition to the Government duties of the custom-house: and lastly, the murder of a Zoroastrian was not punished: sanctuaries were often invaded and profaned.

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quoted. We will content ourselves with pointing out this inequality without any further comment.(140)

In the presence of this distressing state of affairs, the Parsis in India could not remain indifferent. Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka wrote, a quarter of a century back :(141) "But can we ourselves do nothing for our unfortunate co-religionists in Persia? Our community possesses considerable weight, and includes, among its members, names known all over the world for their exertions in the cause of humanity, and the amelioration of the condition of their countrymen generally. A deputation, therefore, of our race to the Persian Court, duly accredited by the English Government, and presented by the British Ambassador at Teherân, might, we believe, remonstrate with success against the cruelties now practised upon our Zoroastrian brethren in Persia. The amount raised by the capitation-tax now levied upon them, and which is attended by circumstances of so much cruelty, must be, to the imperial revenue, insignificant in the extreme, and it is not improbable that a dignified representation on the subject, made by a suitable embassy from the Parsis of India, might succeed in abolishing it. Persian princes seldom knew the true state of their subjects, and we cannot but think that our countrymen would reflect honour upon themselves by an effort to relieve the miseries of our Zoroastrian brethren in the fatherland."

140. It is well to notice that the Persian Government, very careful to please the ambassadors of the European and other Christian courts, accords voluntarily its protection to the natives who are in the neighbourhood of the capital; but this protection ceases in the provinces where there prevails the rule of local governors maintained by the fanaticism of the inhabitants.

141. *The Parsis: their History, Manners, Customs and Religion*, ch. ii. pp. 49 *et seq.*, [of first edition of 1858, and page 71 of vol. I of the edition of 1884.]

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[In 1796 A.D., a Persian Zoroastrian brought, from Persia to India, his three daughters on account of the persecutions in Persia. One of these ladies, Gulestan, was married to a Parsi, Framji Bhikhaji Panday, and the others to other members of Parsi families. Lady Sakarbai Dinshaw Petit was a daughter of this lady, Gulestan. The sympathies of Framji Panday's son, Mehervanji, were aroused by his Iranian mother's, and her father's, heart-rending accounts of the persecutions, and, under his leadership, the *Society and Fund for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia* was started in 1853.]

It was in 1854 that the first delegate from Bombay to the Zoroastrians in Persia was sent; and from that time, thanks to the *Persian Zoroastrian Fund*, they seriously began to consider the means of aiding them. The trustees delegated Mr Maneckji Limji Hataria, [142] who was to utilize his great experience and his devotion in the accomplishment of the task he had undertaken. He started (on March 31) with instructions from the Committee of the said Society to open an inquiry and to send in a report. Very soon, details the most pathetic came to excite the charitable zeal of the Parsis of Bombay. A meeting was called on January 11, 1855, under the presidency of the late Maneckji Nasarwanji Petit, (*Parsi Prâkâsh*, vol. I, pp. 654 *et seq.*), to consider the resolutions to be adopted on the report of Mr M. L. Hataria. [143]

142. [M. L. Hataria published, in 1865, a work entitled *Ezhare Shyâte Irân*, in Gujarati, giving a narrative of his travels in Persia. In another book, entitled *Jamaye-Mânek* (='Collections of Manek,' his own name), he has brought together his numerous notes in regard to the social manners, customs, and the ruins of the old monarchies, arts, and religion. He brought to India a large collection of curios got together during forty years of his residence in Persia, but I have been unable to ascertain what has become of this collection.—M.M.M.]

143. The members of the committee were: Messrs. Maneckji Nasarwanji Petit, Rastamji Nusserwanji Wadia: Merwanji Framji Panday: Kavasji Ardesir Sahair.

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Before taking in hand all the evils set forth, it appeared specially important to direct all their efforts towards the abolition of the *Jazia*, the chief cause of the complaints and miseries of the tax-payers. These efforts relaxed neither with time nor in the face of obstacles, and, after a campaign which lasted from 1857 to 1882, the desired abolition was finally obtained.[144] During this period of twenty-five long years, all suitable means were adopted to secure the success of the object aimed at. Thus Mr Hataria profited by the kindly disposition of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the English Ambassador at the Court of Teheran, to get himself presented to the Shah, and to lay before him a touching picture of the miseries suffered by his Zoroastrian subjects of Kirman. At the end of the audience, he succeeded in obtaining a reduction of 100 tomâns from the amount of 920 tomâns of the contribution annually levied in Yezd and in Kirman.

Another audience was granted by the Shah of Persia, in Buckingham Palace, on the occasion of his voyage to England (June 24, 1873). An address,—drawn up in the most florid and courteous style such as Oriental etiquette demands,—was presented by several members of the Bombay Committee.[145] Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr E. B. Eastwick supported it. In his reply, His Majesty was pleased to say that he had heard of the complaints of his subjects, and that he would consider the means of ameliorating the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia. But we know, alas! that, in the East, abuses take long in disappearing.

In spite of the friendly promises of the Shàh, there was no change made in the collection of this tax. A

144. For the negotiations on the subject of the *Jazia*, see *Parsi Prâkâsh*, vol. I, pp. 659—662.

145. Messrs. Naorozji Fardunji, Dadabhoy Naoroji, Ardeshir Kharshedji Wadia, Dr Rastamji Kavasji Bahadurji.

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pressing appeal, through the English Ambassador at Teherân, did not even reach the monarch of Persia! It was not till 1882 that Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit,—the president of the *Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund*,—received through the mediation of Mr Thomson, of the English Embassy, the communication of the royal *firmân* decreeing the immediate abolition of the tax. (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 662). This long struggle has cost the *Persian Amelioration Fund* of Bombay nearly 109,564 rupees, or about 257,475 francs! It is needless to say with what transports of joy and gratitude this boon was hailed by the unfortunate victims, who, for ages, had groaned under the exactions of underlings, and whom the enlightened kindness of the sovereign placed at once on a footing of equality with his other subjects. (146) As to the friends of the Mazdien communities of Iran, they may hope to see them prosper and their numbers increase under the influence of the same qualities and virtues which

146. Here is a translation of the text of the *firmân* relieving the Zoroastrians of Persia from the impost of the *Jazia*:

"In consideration of the innumerable benedictions which it has pleased the Almighty to accord to us, and as an act of grace towards Him who has given us the Royal Crown of Persia, with the means of promoting the welfare of its inhabitants, there has devolved on us the duty of securing tranquillity and happiness for all our subjects, to whatever tribe, community, or religion they belong, so that they may be profited and refreshed by the beneficent waters of our special favour.

"Amongst these are the Zoroastrians of Yezd and Kirman, who are descended from the ancient and noble race of Persia, and it is now our desire to make their peace and well-being more complete than before.

"That is why, by this royal *firmân*, we ordain and command that the taxes and imposts of the Crown, levied previously on our Musulman subjects of Yezd and Kirman, may be recovered in the same way from the Zoroastrians who reside there. In this manner the impost, which exacts from this community the sum of eight hundred and forty-five tomans, is abolished, and in the commencement of this propitious year of the Horse, we make an abatement of this sum and free

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Kaekusru Tirandaz Khoorsand.

Limji Maneckji Hataria.

Ardesir Edalji Reporter.

Parsi Delegates, in Persia, on behalf of the Bombay Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of Zoroastrians in Persia.

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have contributed to the greatness and prosperity of the Zoroastrians of India.(147)

[On the death of Mr Manekji Limji Hataria, another gentleman (a Persian Zoroastrian) Mr Kaikhosru Tirandaz Khoorsund, a Graduate of the Bombay University, was deputed to Persia with a letter dated 19th December 1891, and addressed to Sir Frank Lascelles, K.C.B., British Minister in the Imperial Court of Teheran. This letter has been published on p. 103 of the Report of the 'Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia,' published in 1893 in Bombay. Mr Ardeshir E. Reporter has since succeeded Mr Kaikhosru.] (148)

The relations between Bombay and Persia were not confined to this single benevolent initiative of the Bombay

the Zoroastrians from it for ever. We therefore order and command our *mustaufis* and officers of the debt of the Royal Exchequer to remove it from the revenues which have to be paid in by Yezd and Kirmant. The governors now in office, or who will be nominated subsequently, at the head of these provinces, ought to consider all right to the payment of this tribute abolished for ever, and, as regards the present year, and the following years, if this sum should happen to be exacted, they will be held responsible and will be punished for it. Moreover, in the tribute of the tithes and imposts on water and land, and for all trade duties, the Zoroastrians must be treated in the same manner as our other subjects.

"Given at Teheran in the month of Ramzan, 1299. (August 1882) &c."

147. The Committee has now a fund of Rs. 275,000*, (646,250 francs), made up of subscriptions and of gifts made on the occasion of marriages or the death of relatives at the *Uthamna* ceremony of the third day. Out of these funds are supported twelve schools, opened in 1882, in Teheran, Yezd, and Kirman.

* [From the Report of 1902 of the Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia I find the amount is Rs. 2,87,677.—See, also, *The Parsi*, vol. IV, p. 68, for details of the Fund for the Education of the Persian Zoroastrians.—M. M. M.]

148. [This information has been added by me.—M.M.M.]

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Committee. [149] We should also notice the establishing (in 1857) of schools in the towns of Yezd and Kirman, due to the munificence of the Parsi notabilities, and the pecuniary gifts given for the purpose of settling in life young girls exposed on account of their poverty to terrible dangers in a Mahomedan country. Between 1856 and 1865 nearly a hundred Mazdien women were thus got married by the care of the agent of the charitable Association. We may also mention the establishment of dispensaries and houses of refuge, and should not omit to include, in this brief list, the founding of two monuments, which throws a very interesting light on the direction of the religious ideas of the modern Parsis:

Two localities, Koh-i-Chakmaku and Akda, situated not far from Yezd and held sacred by tradition, preserved the memory of their ancient glorious days through a legend concerning the two daughters [some say wife and daughter] of Yezdezard, Khatun-Bánu and Hyat Bànu, who had, at one time, disappeared without leaving any trace behind them. After the fall of the king, his family, finding no protection in Madain, had taken refuge in the citadel of Haft Ajar: but they were soon obliged to disperse. Meher Bánu shut herself up in the fortress of Gorab; Khatun Bánu directed her steps to more secret and secluded places. In her hasty march, the

149. Maneckji Limji Hataria died in 1890; but his successors were not less zealous. The president was Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit, and the honorary secretary was Mr Bomanji Byramji Patel.

[B.B. Patel, in 1907, handed over charge of his honorary office to Jijibhai Pestanji Mistri, a 'Master of Arts' of the University of Bombay, an editor of some posthumous works of Jamsetji Nasarvanji Petit, and of 'Kàkà Kàhàn' the pseudonym under which Framji Dorabji Panday wrote to newspapers, and of *Collection of Gujarati Proverbs*, (by the late J. N. Petit), the largest known collection in India. On Mr Mistri's death, in 1913, he was succeeded in this office by his son—M.M.M.]

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princess, exhausted and dying of thirst, met a *burzigar* (farmer) busy cultivating the soil, and asked of him a little water to drink. There being no stream or tank near-by, the peasant offered her his cow's milk, and commenced milking the animal; but the moment the vessel was overflowing with the fresh and foaming liquid, the cow, with a kick, upset it. The unfortunate girl, thus deprived of this last comfort, feverishly continued her way, and reaching the mountain, in an agony of despair threw herself upon the ground, praying to the Almighty to protect her, either by stopping the pursuit of her enemies or by snatching her from mortal ken. Hardly had she finished her prayer when she disappeared in a cleft of the rocks, which opened before her and closed upon her immediately. At the same moment, the *burzigar*, who had discovered the retreat of the princess, arrived with a refreshing drink, only to find her little band of mourning followers. On hearing of her strange disappearance he ran to his stable and sacrificed the cow in the very place where the king's daughter had disappeared.(150) Soon the faithful ones came to offer, in their turn, similar sacrifices, and the place was called 'Dar-i-Din,' 'the Gate of Faith.' Hosts of pilgrims repaired to this place every year. But these sacrifices of blood were repugnant to the feelings of the Parsis of Bombay. However, as it was right and seemly to honour a place marked out by ancient tradition, Mr Maneckji Limji Hataria substituted, in the place of this barbarous custom, ceremonies more in accordance with modern Zoroastrian practices. The sacrifice of the cow was suppressed, and an influential member of the Bombay community furnished means to raise a beautiful monument with spacious quarters to lodge the pilgrims.

150. [As to this legend, see Major Percy Molesworth Sykes' *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia : or Eight Years in Iran* : (ed. of 1902), p. 156.—M.M.M.]

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Hyat Banu, the other princess, disappeared in an equally mysterious manner. On the spot, consecrated by legend, a grand reservoir, fed from neighbouring springs, has been erected. The walls of this reservoir, having gradually fallen into ruins, were repaired by the generous care of Mr Merwanji Framji Panday, the same gentleman who erected the monument at Akda.[151]

[Edward G. Browne, in his *A Year amongst the Persians*, (*i.e.*, during 1887-88), says of the Zoroastrians: "Of these there are said to be from 7,000 to 10,000 in Yezd and its dependencies, nearly all of them being engaged either in mercantile business or agriculture. From what I saw of them, both at Yezd and Kirman, I formed a very high idea of their honesty, integrity, and industry. Though less liable to molestation now than in former times, they often meet with ill-treatment and insult at the hands of the more fanatical Muhammadans, by whom they are regarded as pagans, not equal even to Christians, Jews and other "people of the book" (*ahlu'l-khitab*). Thus they are compelled to wear the dull-yellow raiment, already alluded to, as a distinguishing badge; they are not permitted to wear socks, or to wind their turbans tightly or neatly, or to ride a horse; and if, when riding even a donkey, they should chance to meet a Musulman, they must dismount while he passes, and that without regard to his age or rank.

"So much for the petty annoyances to which they are continually subject. They are humiliating and vexatious only; but occasionally when there is a period of interregnum, or when a bad or priest-ridden governor holds office, and the "*lutis*," or roughs of Yezd wax bold, worse befalls them. During the period of confusion which

151. We reserve, for a subsequent work, certain documents which we have been able to collect on the subject of the Zoroastrian communities of Persia.

[These have not been published up to 1916.—M.M.M.]

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intervened between the death of Muhammad Shah and the accession of Nasir-ud-Din Shah, the present king, many of them were robbed, beaten, and threatened with death unless they would renounce their ancient faith and embrace Islam; not a few were actually done to death. There was one old Zoroastrian still living at Yezd, when I was there, who had been beaten, threatened, and finally wounded with pistol shots, in several places by these fanatical Muslims, but he stood firm in his refusal to renounce the faith of his fathers, and, more fortunate than many of his brethern, escaped with his life.

"So likewise, as I was informed by the Dastur, about twelve years previously, the Muhammadans of Yezd threatened to sack the Zoroastrian quarter and kill all the guebres who would not consent to embrace Islam, alleging, as a reason for this atrocious design, that one of the Zoroastrians had killed a Musalman. The Governor of Yezd professed himself powerless to protect the guebres, and strove to induce them to sign a document exonerating him from all blame in whatever might take place; but, fortunately they had the firmness to refuse compliance, until one of the Musalmans, who had killed a Zoroastrian woman, was put to death, after which quiet was restored.

"On another occasion, a Musalman was murdered by another Musalman who had disguised himself as a guebre, the Muhammadans threatened to sack the Zoroastrian quarter and make a general massacre of its inmates, unless the supposed murderer was given up. The person whom they suspected was one Namdar, a relative of the chief fire-priest. He, innocent as he was, refused to imperil his brethern by remaining amongst them. "I will go before the governor," he said, "for it is better that I should lose my life than our whole community should be endangered." So he went forth, prepared to die; but, fortunately, at the last moment, the real murderer was discovered and put to death. Ardashir's own brother Rashid was murdered

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by fanatical Musalmans as he was walking through the bazaars, and saw the tablet put up to his memory in one of the fire-temples of Yezd.

"Under the enlightened administration of Prince 'Imadu'd Dawla, the Zoroastrians, as I have already said, enjoyed comparative peace and security, but even he was not always able to keep in check the ferocious intolerance of bigots and the savage brutality of *lutis*. While I was in Yezd, a Zoroastrian was bastinadoed for accidentally touching with his garment some fruit exposed for sale in the bazaar, and thereby, in the eyes of the Musalmans, rendering it unclean and unfit for consumption by true believers. On another occasion, I heard that the wife of a poor Zoroastrian, a woman of singular beauty, was washing clothes near the town, when she was noticed with admiration by two Musalmans who were passing by. Said one to the other, "She would do well for your embraces." "Just what I was thinking," replied the other wretch, who thereupon approached her, clasped her in his arms, and tried to kiss her. She resisted, and cried for help, whereupon the Musalmans got angry and threw her into the stream. Next day, the Zoroastrians complained to the Prince-Governor, and the two cowardly scoundrels were arrested and brought before him. Great hopes were entertained by the Zoroastrians that condign and summary punishment would be inflicted upon them; but some of the *mullas*, acting in concert with the *Maliku't-tujjar* or chief merchant of Yezd, (a man of low origin, having, as was currently reported, *koli* or gypsy blood in his veins), interfered with bribes and threats, and so intimidated an old Zoroastrian, who was the chief witness for the prosecution, that he finally refused to say more than that he had heard the girl cry out for help, and on looking round had seen her in the water. I know not how the matter ended, but I greatly fear that justice was defeated.

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"On another occasion, however, the Prince-Governor intervened successfully to check the following unjust and evil practice. When a Zoroastrian renounces his faith and embraces Islam, it is considered by the Musalmans that he has a right to the property and money of his unregenerate kinsmen. A case of this sort had arisen, and a sum of ninety *tumans* (nearly £ 28) had been taken by the renegade from his relatives. The latter appealed to the Prince, who insisted on its restoration, to the mortification of the pervert and his new friends, and the delight of the Zoroastrians, especially of old Dastur Tirandaz, who, when he related the incident to me, was almost incoherent with exultation, and continually interrupted his narrative, to pray for the long life and prosperity of prince Imad-u'd-Dawla. Nor was this the only expression of gratitude which the Prince's justice and toleration called forth from the poor oppressed guebres. One day, as he himself informed me, on the occasion of my farewell visit to his palace, he was riding abroad accompanied by three servants only, (for he loved not ostentation), when he met a party of Zoroastrian women. Reining in his horse, he inquired how things went with them, and whether they enjoyed comfort and safety. They, not knowing who he was, and supposing him to be an ordinary Persian gentleman, replied that, though formerly they had suffered much, now, by the blessing of God and the justice of the new governor, they enjoyed perfect safety and security, and feared molestation from none. Then they asked him to what part of the country he belonged; and he, when he had fenced with them for a while, told them, to their astonishment and confusion, who he was!

"I was naturally anxious to see some of the fire-temples, and finally, after repeated requests, a day was fixed for visiting them. I was taken first to the oldest temple, which was in a very ruinous condition, (the Muhammadans not suffering it to be repaired), and

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presented little of interest save two tablets bearing Persian inscriptions, one of which bore the date A. Y. 1009 as that of the completion of the tablet or the temple, I know not which. Leaving this, we proceeded to a newer, larger, and much more flourishing edifice, on entering which I saw, to my great delight, in a room to the left of the passage of entry, the sacred fire burning bright on its tripod, while, around it, two or three *mubads* or fire-priests, with veils [the padàn] covering their mouths and the lower part of their faces, droned their Zend liturgies. These veils, as Ardashir informed me, are intended to obviate the danger of the fire being polluted by the officiating priest coughing or spitting upon it. I was not, however, allowed to gaze upon this interesting spectacle for more than a few moments, but was hurried on to a large and well-carpeted room in the interior of the building, looking out on a court-yard planted with pomeganate trees. Here I was received by several of the fire-priests, who regaled us with a delicious sherbet. The buildings surrounding the other three sides of the court-yard were, as I was informed, devoted to educational purposes, and serve as a school for the Zoroastrian children. This temple wás built comparatively recently by some of Ardashir's relatives, and on one of its walls was the memorial tablet to his murdered brother Rashid.

"Leaving this, we visited a third temple, a portion of which serves as a theological college for the training of youths, destined for the priesthood, who, to some extent atleast, study Zend and Pahlavi; though I do not fancy that any high standard of proficiency in the sacred languages is often attained by them. The space allotted to these young theologians was not very ample, indeed, only a sort of gallery at one end of the chief room. At the opposite end, was spread a carpet, on which a few chairs were set: and in a niche in the wall stood a little vase containing

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sprigs of a plant, not unlike privet, which the *dastur* called by a name I could not rightly catch, though it sounded to me like 'nawa,' This plant, I was further informed, was used in certain of their religious ceremonies, and "turned round the sun"; but concerning it,—as well as sundry other matters whereof I would fain have learned more,—my guides showed a certain reserve which I felt constrained to respect. Here also I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred-fire burning in a little chamber apart, (whence came the odour of ignited sandal-wood and the droning of Zend chants), and of the white-veiled *mubad* who tended it. A picture of Zoroaster, (taken, as Ardashir told me, from an old sculpture at Balkh), and several inscriptions on the walls of the large central room, were the only other points of interest presented by the building.

"On leaving this temple, which is situated in the very centre of the "*Gabr-Mahalla*," or Zoroastrian quarter, I was conducted to the house of Ardashir's brother, Gudarz, between rows of Zoroastrian men and boys, who had come out to gaze on the Firangi [Christian] stranger. To me the sight of these yellow-robed votaries of an old-world faith, which twelve centuries of persecution and insult have not succeeded in uprooting from its native soil, was atleast as interesting as the sight of me can have been to them, and I was much struck both by their decorous conduct and by the high average of their good looks. Their religion has prevented them from intermarrying with Turks, Arabs, and other non-Aryans, and they consequently represent the purest Persian type, which, in physical beauty, can hardly be surpassed.

"At the house of Ardashir's brother, Gudarz, I met the chief-priest of the Zoroastrians, who was suffering from gout, and a number of my host's male relatives, with whom I stayed conversing till 8-30 p. m., hospitably entertained with tea, wine, brandy, and *kebabs* [minced mutton balls]. Wine-drinking plays a great part in the

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daily life of the guebre; but, though, I suppose, not one total abstainer could be found amongst them, I never but once saw a Zoroastrian the worse for drink. With the Musalmans, the contrary holds good; when they drink, it is too often with the deliberate intention of getting drunk, on the principle, I suppose, that, "when the water has gone over the head, what matters it whether it be a fathom or a hundred fathoms?" To a Zoroastrian, it is lawful to drink wine and spirits, but not to excess; to a Muhammadan, the use and the abuse of alcohol are equally unlawful. The Zoroastrian drinks because he likes the taste of the wine and the glow of good fellowship which it produces; the Muhammadan, on the contrary, commonly detests the taste of wine and spirits, and will, after each draught, make a grimace expressive of disgust, rinse out his mouth, and eat a lump of sugar. What he enjoys is, not *drinking*, but *being drunk*, even as the great mythical poet Jalal-u'd-din Rumi says.....

"The drinking-cup (*jâm*) used at Yezd and Kirman is not a glass but a little brass bowl. On the inside of this the Zoroastrians often have engraved the names of dead friends and relatives, to whose memory they drink, as the wine goes round, with such formulæ as "*Khuda pidarat biyamurzad*" ("May God-pardon thy father!") "*Khuda biyamurzad hamâi raftagan-ra*" ("May God pardon all the departed!").....""] [152]

[Napier Malcolm, in his *Five Years in a Persian Town*, (Yezd), (published by John Murray, in 1905), furnishes the following [153] details as regards the Zoroastrians of Persia. From the Preface to this very useful book, it appears that he had resided in Yezd for five years prior to 1905, in connection with the Church

152. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

153. [This summary of the situation, of the Zoroastrians in Persia, upto the year 1905 A. D., has been placed here by me.—M. M. M.]

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A Zoroastrian Family in Teheran.

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A Zoroastrian Family in Yezd.

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Missionary Society. His experiences, therefore, are not those of a mere traveller in search of antiquities :

"The Yezd community includes persons of three of four different religions. There are in the town fourteen hundred Parsi houses, the inhabitants of which are Zoroastrian. There is also a smaller colony of Jews. The remainder are Mohamedans: but a considerable number of these belong to the Behài sect, and are considered rank-heretics. The Parsis, though greatly oppressed in the past, and still liable to some disabilities, have, of late years, become wealthy and prosperous. The Jews are, in some ways, less restricted than the Parsis; but as they are still wretchedly poor they are really much more down-trodden. That religious bigotry still exists, among the Mussalmans in Yezd, has only lately been made perfectly plain by the ghastly massacre of the Behàis in the summer of 1903; but Mohamedan bigotry in Persia is by no means without limitations. It is spasmodic in its action, nor does it entirely obliterate every other feeling.

"A few years ago, Yezd had the reputation of being one of the most bigoted of the towns of Persia. The presence of the Zoroastrian remnant, who were subject to the grossest persecution, served only to keep alive the fire of religious hatred; and the community of Jews in a lesser degree had the same effect. The stories of the way in which the Parsis were bullied and persecuted are interesting, as showing, amongst other things, the intense childishness of the Persian Mussulman. The atmosphere of the town seems to have resembled, as indeed it still resembles, that of a preparatory school for little boys. Upto 1895, no Parsi was allowed to carry an umbrella. Even during the time that I was in Yezd they could not carry one in town. Upto 1895, there was a strong prohibition upon eye-glasses and spectacles; upto 1885, they were prevented from wearing rings; their

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girdles had to be made of rough canvass, but, after 1885, any white material was permitted. Upto 1896, the Parsis were obliged to twist their turbans instead of folding them. Upto about 1898, only brown, grey, and yellow were allowed for the *qaba* or *arkhaluq* (body-garments), but, after that, all colours were permitted, except blue, black, bright red, or green. There was also a prohibition against white stockings, and upto about 1880, the Parsis had to wear a special kind of peculiarly hideous shoe with a broad, turned-up toe. Upto 1885, they had to wear a torn cap. Upto about 1880, they had to wear tight knickers, self-coloured, instead of trousers. Upto 1891, all Zoroastrians had to walk in town, and even in the desert they had to dismount if they met a Mussalman of any rank whatever. During the time I was in Yezd, they were allowed to ride in the desert and only had to dismount if they met a big Mussalman. There were other similar dress restrictions too numerous and trifling to mention. Then the houses of both the Parsis and the Jews, with the surrounding walls, had to be built so low that the top could be reached by a Mussalman with his hand extended; they might, however, dig down below the level of the road. The walls had to be splashed with white round the door. Double doors, the common form of Persian door, were forbidden, also rooms containing three or more windows. *Bàd-girs* (airshafts) were still forbidden to the Parsis while we were in Yezd, but in 1900 one of the bigger Parsi merchants gave a large present to the Governor and to the chief *mujtahid* (Mohammedan priest) to be allowed to build one. Upper rooms were also forbidden.

"Upto about 1860, Parsis could not engage in trade. They used to hide things in their cellar rooms, and sell them secretly. They can now trade in the caravanserais or hostelries, but not in the bazars, nor may they trade in linen drapery. Upto 1870, they were not permitted to have a school for their children.

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"The amount of the *jaziya*, or tax upon infidels, differed according to the wealth of the individual Parsi, but it was never less than two *tomans*. *A toman* is now worth about three shillings and eight pence, but it used to be worth much more Even now, when money has depreciated, it represents a labourer's wage for ten days. The money had to be paid on the spot, when the *farrash*, who was acting as collector, met the man. The *farrash* was at liberty to do what he liked when collecting *jaziya*. The man was not even allowed to go home and fetch the money, but was at once beaten until it was given. About 1865, a *farrash*, collecting this tax, tied a man to a dog, and gave a blow to each in turn.

"About 1891, a *mujtahid* caught a Zoroastrian merchant wearing white stockings in one of the public squares of the town. He ordered the man to be beaten and the stockings taken off. About 1860, a man of seventy went to the bazars in white trousers of rough canvas. They hit him about a good deal, took off his trousers, and sent him home with them under his arm. Sometimes, Parsis would be made to stand on one leg in a *mujtahid's* house until they consented to pay a considerable sum of money. Occasionally, however, the childish mockery that pervaded the persecuting ordnances enabled the Zoroastrians to evade the disabilities proposed. For instance, as the Jews had to wear a patch on the *qabà*, or coat, the mujtahids, in about 1880, tried to make the Parsis wear an obvious patch on the shirt. Muhammad Hasan Khan was then Governor, and Mulla Bahram of Khurramshar, a Parsi, asked him to arrange that his people should have three days' respite to get the patches ready. During these three days the Parsi women set to work, and made a neat embroidered border round the neck and opening of the shirt. This the Parsis exhibited as the required patch; and as it was very obvious, and was certainly an insertion, there

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was really no more to be said. In Yezd, a small score like this counts for more than does a *firmàn* [ordnance] of the Shah.

"In the reign of the late Shah Nasiru'd Din, Manukji Limji, a British Parsi from India, was for a long while in Tehran as Parsi representative. Almost all the Parsi disabilities were withdrawn, the *jaziya*, the clothes restrictions, the riding restrictions, and those with regard to houses; but the law of inheritance was not altered, according to which a Parsi who has become a Mussalman, takes precedence of his Zoroastrian brothers and sisters. The *jazya* was actually remitted, and also some of the restrictions as to houses, but the rest of the *firmàn* was a dead letter.

"In 1898, the present Shàh, Muzaffar-ud-Din, gave a *firmán* to Dinyar, the present *qalantar* (head-man) of the Parsi *Anjuman* or Committee, revoking all the remaining Parsi disabilities, and also declaring it unlawful to use fraud or deception in making conversions of Parsis to Islam. This *firman* does not appear to have had any effect at all.

"About 1883, after the *firmàn* of Nasir-ud-Din Shah had been promulgated, one of the Parsis, Rustami Ardishiri Dinyar, built in Kucha Biyuk,—one of the villages near Yezd,—a house with an upper room, slightly above the height to which the Parsis used to be limited. He heard that the Mussalmans were going to kill him, so he fled by night to Tehran. They killed another Parsi, Tirandáz, in mistake for him, but did not destroy the house.

"So the great difficulty was, not to get the law improved, but rather to get it enforced. When Manukji was at Yezd, about 1870, two Parsis were attacked by two Mussalmans outside the town, and he was killed, the other being terribly wounded, as they had tried to cut off

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His Majesty Muzaffar ad-Din,
Shah of Persia.
(1896 to 1907).

His Majesty Mohammed Ali,
Shah of Persia,
who succeeded Shah Muzaffar ad-Din.

Shah-us-Sultaneh,
Son of Shah Muzaffar ad-Din,
and Governor of Shiraz.

Zil-as-Sultan Masud Mirza,
Eldest son of His Majesty Shah Nasr ad-Din,
and Governor of Ispahan.

Some members of the Royal family of Persia, who have done their best to alleviate the sufferings of the Zoroastrians in Persia.

In 1898 A. D., Shah Muzaffar ad-Din "sought to relieve the condition [of the Zoroastrians] further by issuing a *firman* revoking the formal disabilities from which they suffered. While imperfectly observed, this decree has contributed, in spirit at least, to bettering their position."—Jackson: *Persia Past and Present*, p. 375.

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Jamshid Behman,

popularly known as

Arbab Jamshid.

He "is probably more able to influence the Persian Government in favour of his countrymen than are the Indian Parsis from Bombay."—p. 150, *post*.

Dinshah Mehervan, of Yezd.

For years past he has settled in Bombay, as a merchant. He is here to be seen in the costume and head-gear as worn by a large section of Parsis in India. He has spent a good deal of his income in the publication of literature relating to the religion etc. of Zoroastrians, and is publishing a Cyclopædia known as 'Parsi Din-Ayin ane tavarikhi Farhang.'

Parviz Shah Jehan,

murdered in Yezd in 1907.

(Picture taken from a print)

Arbab Khosru Shah Jehan.

Some of the leading Zoroastrian Merchants of Persia.

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his head. The Governor brought the criminals to Yezd, but did nothing to them. Manukji then got leave to take them to Teheran. The Prime Minister, however, told him that no Mussulman would be killed for a *Zardushti*, or Zoroastrian, and that they would only be bastinadoed. About this time, Manukji enquired whether it was true that the blood-price of a *Zardushti* was to be seven *tomans*. He got back the official reply that it was to be a little over.

"The Yezd Parsis have been helped considerably by agents from Bombay, who are British subjects, and, of late years, things have slightly improved. About 1885, a *Seyid*, that is, a descendant of Muhammad, killed a *Zardushti* woman in Yezd. Ibrahim Qualíl Khan took him, and by order of the Zill-us-Sultan, Prince Governor of Isfahan, and elder brother of the Shah, killed him before day-break. When the Mohammedan mullas heard of it in the morning, they gave orders for a general slaughter of the Parsis. Many of the Parsis were injured, but none killed. Then, in 1899, the Sahamu'l Mulk, at the commencement of his governorship of Yezd, killed a Mussalman servant of the Mushiru'l Mamalik for a criminal assault upon a Zoroastrian woman. This man was not a Seyid, which made the matter more simple. Just before, when the Mushiru'l Mamalik was temporary Governor, Isfandiar, the Parsi school-master at Taft, one of the large Yezd villages, and Salamat, another Parsi, were killed by two *lutis* (roughs) without reason. One of these *lutis* was a Seyid. Both were sent to Teheran, and a *mujtahid* went up with them to ask for their release. The Shah ordered the Seyid's release, but the fate of the other is not known. That the Seyid was not intimidated is certain, as, in August of 1901, when I was in Taft, he used to wander about with other *lutis* quite openly.

"During the last nine or ten years, the governors in

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Yezd have been much stronger, and they have, generally speaking, been friendly to the Parsis. The Parsis are an industrious and intelligent people, and they have become, in Yezd, a wealthy community. Also, there is an extremely wealthy Parsi in Teheran, Arbab Jamshid,(154) who is probably more able to influence the Persian Government in favour of his countrymen than are the Indian Parsis from Bombay. Nowadays, no governor who wants to remain in Yezd can afford to leave the Parsi community out of his calculations. The real advance made by the Parsi colony seems to date from the second term of government of the Jalalu'd Daula, eldest son of the Zill-us Sultan, Governor of Isfahan. The Parsis themselves also put down a great deal of the improvement in their circumstances to the spread of the Behai faith, and certainly although a semi-secret sect, the Behais individually plead openly for a general religious liberty and toleration. Naturally, such a movement has been of considerable assistance to the Parsis. As an indication of the influence of the Parsis, it is interesting to notice that, during the late Behai massacres, immediately there was talk of an attack on the Parsi quarter, the Mussalman clergy applied themselves to suppressing the movement.

"Although the Jews are very much weaker and poorer, they have their place in the social organization of the town, and the contempt in which they are held does not prevent the Yezdis from recognizing their right to a kind of citizenship. Their religion, of course,

154. [*Arbáb Jamshid*: For his life-sketch see the *Parsi Din-dyin anè Tavárikhi Farhang*, p. 31. His real name is Jamshed Behman. He is styled 'Arbáb' on account of his extensive possessions of villages, houses, etc., in Persia. He has his business offices in Yezd, Kerman, Bandarábás, Shiraz, Isfahan, Hamadan, Rast, and Teheran, where he has his headquarters. He has received honorific titles, from the Shahs of Persia, some of which are unique. He is said to have 4550 employés under him.—M. M. M.]

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is held in much greater respect than that of the Parsis, for they are people of the Book, and although the Persian Shiahs granted the Zoroastrians a certain share in this status, when they allow them to continue in the country on the same terms as the Jews and Christians, the ordinary Yezdi of to-day hesitates considerably before he allows that Zoroaster was in any sense a prophet.

"I have myself met Mussalmans serving in menial capacity in Parsi houses. I have entertained Parsis of standing and Mussalmans of standing, together, on public occasions; and I have no hesitation in saying that even a bigoted Mussalman recognizes the bond of common citizenship, although it is certainly true that on most occasions he prefers the bond of religion...."

The author further observes, at page 113:

"For all this the Zoroastrian Parsi possesses, as a rule, a strong moral character, which, when he becomes a Mohammedan, is almost always lost in a few generations. Unfortunately, the Behai movement is just now [1905] attracting a large number of Zoroastrians, and is becoming a serious danger; for the Behai, whatever he may say to the contrary, is really a Mussalman, and his system, in which opportunism takes the place of the doctrine of the growth of the moral law, retains most of the more serious defects of Islam.[155] However, as the majority of the Yezdi Parsis are not likely to become

155. [Another work, *Persia: by a Persian*, Rev. Isaac Adams, M.D., (1906), also furnishes a good deal of interesting information, in regard to the Zoroastrians in Persia, at the present day. From his chapter on "Babism,"—which is the same as the Behai sect referred to by Mr Napier Malcolm,—the real key to the reason for the modern Zoroastrians' conversion to Islamism is furnished. A Zoroastrian Iranee on becoming a Mahomedan,—whether as a Shiah, Sunni, or a Babi (Behai),—gets all the Mahomedan rights of inheritance; and as soon as a Iranee Zoroastrian falls out with members of his family, he takes to Mahomedanism, and thereby becomes entitled to a lion's share of the property of the family, thus wreaking his vengeance upon other

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Behais, it is a matter for congratulation that any European power that may have to solve the problem of establishing good government in Southern Persia will find ready to hand a considerable community of this intelligent and interesting people in at least one of the Persian towns."] (156)

[The Zoroastrian Persians speak a sort of *patois* called 'Dari.' Edward G. Browne, in his *A Year amongst the Persians*, says, at pp. 388 *et seq* : "I have alluded [on p. 187] to the dialect spoken among themselves by the Zoroastrians of Persia, and by them called '*Dari.*' This term has been objected to by M. Clement Huart, who has published, in the *Journal Asiatique*, several valuable papers on certain Persian dialects, which

members of the family who remain loyal to their Zoroastrian faith. This statement has been made by a writer on modern Persia and Persians.

I extract only a few lines from Rev. Isaac Adams' book. Much of what he relates, in his chapter on "The Guebres or Fire-worshippers" of Persia, consists of long quotations from a work of one of our Bombay Ervads.

With reference to the Babis or Behais, he says, on page 460:— "Believing that the new faith could grow better by assimilating the elements already estranged from the Orthodox Musselman, he [Abbas Effendi, son of Beha, the successor to Bab,] strove steadily to diminish the ratio of Mohamedan thought in it, and to seek a better understanding with the Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. In short, he tried to make Babism henceforth more of a universal system suitable to all mankind." On page 520 are a few words for my present co-religionists in Persia:—

"Now we have in Persia only about 15000 Zoroastrians. The Mahomedans called them "guebres," *i.e.*, ungodly. Most of them live in Kerman Yeza [?], on the soil of the motherland. The men are good citizens, humble, honest, and generous, especially to their own brethern, and are also industrious, intelligent, handsome, clean in appearance, and faithful to their religion."—M.M.M.]

156. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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he classes together under the name of 'Pehlevi-Musulman,' and regards the descendants of the ancient Median language preserved to us in the *Avesta*. The chief ground of his objection is that the description, of the Dari dialect, given in the prolegomena of certain standard Persian dictionaries, does not at all agree with the so-called Dari spoken by the Guebres of Yezd and Kirman. Personally, I confess that I attach but little importance to the evidence of the Persian lexicographers in this matter, seeing that it is the rarest thing for an educated Persian to take any interest in local dialects, or even to recognise their philological importance; and I shall, therefore, continue provisionally to call the dialect in question by the name given it by those who speak it. That it is closely allied to the Kohrudi, Kashani, Sivandi, Luri, and other dialects spoken in remote and isolated districts of Persia, and generally termed by the Persians "*Furs-i-Kadim*" ("Old Persian"), is, however, not to be doubted. This dialect is only used by the *guebres* amongst themselves, and all of them, so far as I know, speak Persian as well. When they speak their own dialect, even a Yezdi Musalman cannot understand what they are saying, or can only understand it very imperfectly. It is for this reason that the Zoroastrians cherish their Dari, and are somewhat unwilling to teach it to a stranger. I once remarked to Ardashir [a Zoroastrian] what a pity it was that they did not commit it to writing. He replied that there had, at one time, been some talk of translating the *Gulistan* into Dari, but that they had decided that it was inexpedient to facilitate the acquisition of their idiom to non-Zoroastrians.....
.....Those who desire fuller information about this interesting dialect, which well deserves a more careful and systematic study than it has yet received, may consult General Houtem-Schindler's admirable paper on the Zoroastrians of Persia (*Die Parsen in Persien*,

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ihre Sprache, etc.) in vol. xxxvi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* (pp. 54-88); Ferdinand Justi's article in vol. xxxv of the same periodical (pp. 327-414); Beresine's *Dialectes Persanes* (Kazan, 1853); and the articles of M. Huart in series viii of the *Journal Asiatique*, (vol. vi, p. 502; vol. xi, p. 298; vol. xiv, p. 534)." See also, p. 187 (*op. cit.*), and footnote 2 thereon.] (156 A.)

156-A. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

THE LEGEND OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE PARSIS BY THE ARABS IN IRAN.

At the request of Mr M. M. Murzban I have the pleasure to contribute this 'note' to his valuable book. The views expressed here will appear revolutionary, but, without any further preface, I would refer the reader to the authorities on which they are based.—G. K. Narimàn:

One of the earliest scholars to question the legend of the persecution of the Parsis by the Arabs in Iran was Dr Weil (*Gesch. der Chalifen*, II, page 227.) Our own Dr Spiegel was similarly surprised to observe that Parsism still flourished in Iran quite three centuries after the Arab conquest. (*Z. D. M. G.*, page 71). Subsequent to these authorities, a more detailed refutation was furnished, in 1856, by the Russian scholar Dr Chwolsohn, in his work upon the *Ssabier und der Ssabismus*. The ninth chapter, of vol. I, is of particular interest. There, a number of authorities, then only existing in manuscript, and subsequently edited, have been relied upon, to show that the Zoroastrians were still both a religious and secular power in Iran down to the tenth Christian century.

No scholar has studied the past of Persia with greater sympathy and more profound knowledge than Prof. Browne, of Cambridge. The quintessence of all that has, up to now, been said on the question of the absence of persecution, is to be found at pages 200-203 of his *Literary History of Persia*. The book is in English, and is open to all impartial investigators. "It is often supposed,"—says Prof. Browne,—"that the choice offered by the warriors of Islam was between the Qoran and the sword. This however, is not the fact. For Magians, as well as Christians and Jews, were permitted to retain their religion. They were merely compelled to pay a

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Jaziya, or poll-tax, a perfectly just arrangement, inasmuch as non-Moslem subjects of the Caliphs were necessarily exempt both from military service and from the alms (*sadaqat*) obligatory on the Prophet's followers." Another English authority, of equal weight, and who has thoroughly studied the sources of the history of Islam, Prof. T. W. Arnold, in his *Preaching of Islam*, entirely agrees with Prof. Browne. According to him, Persia embraced Islam with great rapidity, but that, that rapidity was not due to force is abundantly evidenced. "That this widespread conversion,"—says Arnold,—"was not due to force or violence is evidenced by the toleration extended to those who still clung to their ancient faith. Even to the present day there are some small communities of fire-worshippers to be found in certain districts of Persia, and though these have in *later years** often had to suffer persecution, their ancestors in the early centuries of the Hijirah enjoyed a remarkable degree of toleration, their fire-temples were respected, and we even read of a Mahomedan general who ordered an Imam and a Muadhdhin to be flogged because they had destroyed a fire-temple in Sughd and built a mosque in its place." This is sufficiently startling, and especially the reference to the Moslem ecclesiastical functionaries is of engrossing interest. The history is very fully retailed by Tabari and needs fuller translation from the Arabic than the brief though exceedingly interesting version in abstract given by Browne.

With regard to the alleged persecution, two points are of outstanding interest. Did the Zoroastrians belong to a religious category which, in the eyes of the early Moslems, was sufficiently repugnant to them to incur absolute condemnation, and, consequently, if the persecution of the Zoroastrians by the Arabs has been a myth, how to account for the emigration of the

* The *italics* are mine.—G. K. N.

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Parsis to India. As regards the first question, there is some conflict of opinion. But the difference of view is of a later date. In the early days of Islam, there is little doubt that the Zoroastrians were treated as *Ahl-i-Kitab*, that is to say, a people, who, like the Jews and the Christians, were the recipients of a divine book. The status of the *Ahl-i-Kitab* is very clearly defined in Arabic works of authority. In the ancient instruction, according to Goldziher, for the generals setting out on expeditions of conquest as well for the administration of provinces, stress was laid upon the clause that the subject *Ahl-i-Kitâbs* must not be disturbed in their religious worship and must be treated with humanity. (See *Encyclopædia of Islam:* Art. "Ahl-al-Kitâb".) The beginning of the treatment of the Parsis as *Ahl-i-Kitâb* lay in the Prophet's own intercourse with the Zoroastrians of Hajar (Bahrain). They were allowed the free practice of their religion on the payment of a *Jaziya.* And this was the precedent which was generally acted upon. Our chief indigenous authority is Al Beladhuri and his 'History of the Moslem Conquests', *(Kitàb Futuh ul Buldan).* The countries subjugated successively during the lifetime of the prophet were allowed religious freedom, according to Beladhuri, on the payment of the *Jaziya* by the conquered. In many places the secular chief, and the *Mobed* (or the religious head), voluntarily surrendered their religion in order to retain, to the fullest, their former authority and prestige. In one place, Beladhuri distinctly says, "the Magians and Jews were averse to Islam and preferred to pay the poll-tax." Mark that the poll-tax was all that they had to pay to preserve their faith.

It may be noted that Beladhuri was of Iranian extraction and was sufficiently familiar with Pahlavi to translate into Arabic the *Kàr Nàmeh-Ardishar Bàbekàn.* He, however, is no solitary exception. We find compacts made between the Arabs and the Persians, in Tabari and Masudi, which expressly include the clauses permitting

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religious worship to the Magians. The authoritative material on the point is perfectly ample. It has to be admitted,—whether modern Moslem writers acknowledge it or not,—that there was a greater element of a desire for spoils in the early Arab inroads than for the acquisition of converts. The question, of the condition of the *Dhimmi* or the non-Moslem subjects other than idolators under Moslem kings, has been exhaustively treated by the late Shams-ul-Ulema Shibli in his Essays, one of which particularly appertains to our subject. *(Hukuki Dhimmi).* Parsis have omitted to observe what Prof. Jackson himself has said on the subject of the persecution of the Iranians. "We must not believe,"—he says,—"that the conversion of Persia to Islam took place all at once, or that the choice open to the Zoroastrians was either death or the Qoran." (Vol. III, page 694, Grundris, *Iran Philology*). In this connection also it is difficult to choose any particular passage from the very illuminating essay of Van Vloten, on *La Domination Arabe.* Ibn Isfandiyar's history of Tabaristan, translated by Browne, (*Gibb Memorial Volume*), is there to show that Zoroastrian kings exercised their sway long centuries after the days of Omar Ibn Khattab under whom Iran was over-run by the Arabs. I will make a brief mention of some of the Arab geographers who have made a particular study of the antiquity of Zoroastrian Iran, and who, in their descriptions of Persia, never omitted the mention of fire-temples, many of them still flourishing in their own days:—

Ibn al Fakih, vol. v. page 267; Istakhari, vol. i, p. 124; Ibn Haukal, vol. ii, p. 195; Ibn Khurdadbeh, vol. vi. p. 43; Ibn Rustah, vol. vii, pp. 153, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 189; and Yakubi, vol. vii, pp. 270, 271, 273. All these geographers have been edited by De Goeji. How far they have respected the antiquities of Persia in a spirit of reverence quite the reverse of what the persecution

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theory would have us believe, has been successfully demonstrated by the Russian scholar Inostranzev. (*Sasanian Studies*, p. 4). Reference may also be made to G. L. Strange's "*Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols.*" He proves that, in the 14th century, and even down to later times, there were fire-temples in Iran. (See pp. 56, 69, 80, 85). The power and influence of the Parsis is repeatedly adverted to by Marquart in his *Eranshahar*, (pp. 134, 130, 129, 124, etc.), with reference to the first three centuries of Islam.

Do we then come across no instance of persecution during the earlier times? For the first three centuries, the answer must be 'No'. Whatever harshness was shown by the Arabs was confined to fines,—and these were levied not in a spirit of persecution but simply for the purpose of pillage. The only question, then, will be made: "Who were the real persecutors of the Zoroastrians after the first three centuries of Islam?" Without going into the detail, I am convinced that they were the [convert] *mobeds* whose cupidity was stronger than their religious convictions, and the children of Arab fathers and Persian mothers—, children who endeavoured their best to turn Iran by force into a Moslem country.

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CHAPTER III.

[*Translated by the late Miss Ratanbai Ardeshir Framji Vakil, B.A.*]

POPULATION.

It is on the western coast of India, in the Bombay Presidency, that we find the most compact gathering of the members of the Parsi community. Since their exodus from Persia the refugees here have maintained themselves successfully, and have gradually acquired wealth and the intellectual superiority which distinguishes them from the natives of India, and which it will please us to prove, so to say, at almost every step in the course of this work.

The Bombay Presidency, or, to be more exact, the province of Bombay,[157] comprises twenty-four British districts and nineteen [Indian States ruled by hereditary Indian Princes], under the protection of the British Government. Its boundaries are: to the north, the state of Baluchistan, the Panjaub, and the [Indian] States of Rajaputana; to the east, the Maharatha State of Indore, the Central Provinces, Western Berar, and the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad; to the south, the Madras Presidency and the State of Mysore; and to the

157. Originally, the affairs of the three establishments of the East India Company, in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were administered separately, each with a President and a Council formed of agents of the Company. The term 'Presidency' was applied to the whole territory subject to this authority. This expression has no longer its real signification. However, it is still employed in official acts. British India is no longer divided into presidencies, but into provinces, eight of which are very extensive countries, having separate governments. The presidencies of Bombay and Madras are to-day only the provinces of those names.

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west, the Arabian Sea. It is divided into four great divisions, according to the local dialects. In the north, lies Sindh or the lower valley and delta of the Indus, a region essentially Mahomedan, both historically and as regards the population. Then, more to the south: Gujarat, containing, on the contrary, the most diverse and mixed elements, and comprising all the districts of the northern coast: the Mahratha country and the interior districts of the Deccan; and finally, the districts where the Canarese language is spoken, divided in their turn into four British districts and eight [Indian] States.(158)

This territory has been formed, little by little, round the island of Bombay, which was ceded to England by the king of Portugal as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine of Braganza. The Portuguese were the first to occupy these parts. In 1498, they arrived at Calicut with Vasco de Gama, and, five years later, thanks to the valour of Albuquerque, they took possession of Goa. Bombay came into their possession in 1530; and, for a hundred years, they managed to maintain themselves at

158. Its territory extends from latitude 23° 47' to 13° 53' N., and from latitude 60° 43' to 76° 30' E. British districts, including Sind, contain a total superficial area of 124, 465 square miles, and a population, according to the census of 1872, of 16,349,206 souls. The [Indian States governed by hereditary Indian Princes] cover a surface of nearly 71,769 square miles, with a population of 8,831,730 inhabitants, which gives, for the surface, a total of 196,234 square miles, and, for the population, a total of 25,180,936 inhabitants. The State of Baroda is no longer under the direct [control] of Bombay, but under that of the Supreme Government. We may, however, consider it, from the geographical point of view, as forming a part of [the Province or Presidency of] Bombay. The Portuguese possessions of Goa, Damman, and Diu, with a superficial area of 1,146 square miles and a population of nearly 428,955 souls, are equally comprised in the limits of the Presidency. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. ii. p. 172 (1st Ed. of 1881.)

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the head of commerce and traffic. Two rival factories, one English and the other Dutch, were established in Surat in 1613 and 1618. It must be stated that the acquisition of the island of Bombay seems to have been [at that period] no great satisfaction to the English, for, in 1668, on account of great difficulties, the king handed it over to the East India Company, and, in 1686 the management of all the possessions of the Company was transferred from Surat to Bombay, which was made into an independent Presidency, (1708), at the time of the amalgamation of the two English Companies. Finally, in 1773, Bombay was made a dependency, subject to the Governor-General of Bengal, who has since been replaced by a 'Viceroy of India.' (159)

It is from Bombay that the English have spread their influence, at present so firmly established in these territories. Simple merchants at first, they gradually supplanted their rivals in the Portuguese and Dutch settlements. Soon they aspired to a more solid power, and came into direct conflict with the native-Indians,—the Mahrathas,—whom they hastened to dislodge from Kolaba, (a zilla or district), finding their propinquity troublesome. After the first Mahratha War, which arose from the disputed succession of the Peishwà, (1774), the treaty of Salbai permitted the English to settle in Salsette, Elephanta, Karanja, Hog Island, etc. (1782). The fort of Surat had been in their hands since 1759, and, in 1800, the administration of this town was made over to them by the Nawàb, whose descendants contented themselves with that empty title till 1842.

The second Mahratha War had its origin in the Treaty of Bassein, (1802), by which the Peishwa accepted

159. [See M. Elphinstone's *The Rise of the British Power in the East:* Sir A. Lyall's *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India,* and L. J. Trotter's *History of the British Empire in India.*—M.M.M.]

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the subsidiary system,—a system thenceforth adopted by the English. It resulted in an accession of territory in Gujarat, and an increase of moral influence in the Courts of the Peishwas and the Gaekwars. The interval of peace was utilized in repressing the inroads of the pirates who were infesting the Gulfs of Cambay and Cutch.

In 1807, the [Indian] States of Kathiawar were placed under the British protectorate, and, in 1809, the Rào of Cutch was forced to sign a treaty, by which he bound himself to help in the destruction of the pirates. On the other hand, hardly had the Peishwa Baji Rao been placed on the throne by an English army, when he began plotting for the expulsion of the English from the Deccan. In 1817, he attacked the Resident himself,—Mountstuart Elphinstone,—who withdrew to Kirkee, where, with a weak force, he succeeded in routing the entire army of the Peishwa. Soon after, the prince submitted to Sir John Malcolm. A pension of £80,000 was secured to the Prince, but he was deprived of his States, and, in this manner, Bombay acquired the districts of Pooná, Ahmadnagar, Nàsik, Kolahpur, Belgaum, Kalàdgi, Dhàrwàr, Ahmedabad, and the Konkan. At the same time, Holkar abandoned his rights over the districts of Khàndesh, and Satàrà fell into the hands of the English, (in 1848), on the death of the last descendant of the Mahratha Shivàji. In 1860, the Non-Regulation Districts [160] of the Panch Màhàls were ceded by Scindhia; and, in 1861, the southern limits of the Presidency were still further extended by the annexation of the northern district of Canàrà taken from Madras. From this time, the history of the Bombay Presidency has been devoid of [turbulent] incidents.

160. *Non-Regulation Districts:* For explanation see Sir John Strachey's *India*: Pref. and Trans. of J. Harmand, chap. v. p. 145, Paris, 1892, [from the English edition.]

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Peace reigned even at the time of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The local [Indian] army has, however, rendered important services in Afghanistan, Persia, Burmah, China, Aden, and Abyssinia. [And, in the Great War of 1914 *et seq.*, a very large Army, composed of Indians and of the Frontier tribes,—such as the Ghurkhàs, etc.,—was sent to the battle-fields of Europe, Mesopotamia, etc.] (161) Entirely occupied in administrative reforms and the welfare of the country, the Government has attained a state of complete prosperity under such men as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Malcolm, Lord Reay, [Lord Ripon, and Lord Hardinge].(162)

[The earliest information, in regard to the statistics of population of Parsis in Bombay, is furnished in a Discourse published at pp. xxv-xli of vol. I of the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. In his interesting and useful book, entitled "*A Glimpse into the Work of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, during the last 100 years, from a Parsi point of view," (163) Shams-ul-Ulma Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi observes as follows:

"In his very first discourse, read at Parel, on 26th November 1804, on the occasion of the foundation of the parent Society, 'The Literary Society of Bombay,

161. [Note placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

162. See Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I.: *Bombay*, 1885 to 1890: *A Study in Indian Administration*. (London, 1892.)

[To give foreign readers an idea as to how large the Indian Empire is, I may mention that: Bengal is as large as France: the Madras Presidency exceeds Great Britain and Ireland: the Bombay Presidency equals Germany: the N. W. Provinces and Oudh cover as much space as Great Britain, Belgium and Holland: the Punjàb is about the size of Italy: Burmah nearly equals France. The Indian States,—governed by hereditary Indian Princes,—have an area equal to the United Kingdom, Germany and France.—M.M.M.]

163. [This book has been printed at the Bombay Education Society's Press, Byculla, (Bombay), and published in 1905.—M.M.M.]

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Sir James Mackintosh, the founder, and the first President, said: "The objects of these (scientific) inquiries, as of all human knowledge, are reduceable to two classes," (1) Physical and (2) Moral. Among the moral objects of inquiries, he attached great importance to statistics about the numbers of the people: the number of births, marriages, and deaths: the proportion of children who are reared to maturity." He added: "I need not expatiate on the importance of the information which such Tables would be likely to afford. I shall mention, only as an example of their value, that they must lead to a decisive solution of the problems with respect to the influence of polygamy on population, and the supposed origin of that practice in the disproportioned number of the sexes." In the 'Note' latterly attached to this Preliminary discourse, and specially referring to the above part of inquiry, we find the following statistics of the Parsee population of Bombay in 1811 A.D. As they are not found in any Parsee records, they are worth noting here:

"List of Parsee caste now Inhabitants of Bombay:

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	3,644
Women from 20 to 80 years of age.....	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children.....	1,799
Girls from 20 down to infant children.....	1,266
Total....	10,042

Bombay, Feb. 28, 1811"

On the subject of the mortality, among the Parsees, during the years 1800 to 1808, the Note says: "It must be observed that many of the Parsees came to Bombay, in search of fortune, after having reached the age of manhood and returned with a competency to their native countries, [in India]. Some of them are men of great wealth; many are in easy circumstances; and none are of the most indigent classes. From these circumstances the comparatively

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low rate of their mortality and the smaller number of their females will be easily understood. The famine increased their mortality from 311 (in 1802) to 563 (in 1804), an augmentation almost entirely to be attributed to deaths of the fugitive Parsees, who were attracted to Bombay by the well-known charity of their opulent fellow-religionists." To compare with the above figures of February 1811, given in the Note on the Preliminary Discourses of Sir James Mackintosh, I give below the figures of the Parsee population, according to the last Census of 1901:—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	....	14,706
Women from 20 to 80 years of age	....	13,005
Boys from 20 down to infant children	....	9,571
Girls from 20 down to infant children	....	8,949
Total....		46,231"] [164]

[The following is the Census of Parsis in Bombay for other periods,—*i.e.*, between 1816 and 1849:—

1816: There were 13,155 Parsis: of whom 114 lived in Colaba, 9,153 in Fort, 3,288 in Baherkote, 52 in Kamatipura, 437 in Mazagon, 54 in Parel, and 57 in Mahim and Worli. (See *Pàrsi Prakàsh*, vol. I, p. 889).

16th August 1827: 10,738 Parsis: of whom 6,303 lived in Fort, 1,764 in Doongri, 983 in Byculla, 304 in Mazagon, 119 on Malabar Hill and around, 1,074 in Girgaon, 67 in Mahim, Worli, Sion, etc. (See *Pàrsi Prakàsh*, vol. I, p. 893.)

In the same year (1827) the Census taken in the Chhàsti Zilla showed 149 Parsis, of whom 4 were in Gorbunder, 22 in Dharavi, 12 in Mahlar, 20 in Bandra,

164. [I am indebted to Jivanji Jamshedji Modi for enabling me to insert this valuable piece of information. He writes to me: "Khan Bahadur Bamanji Byramji Patel has not referred to it [in his *Pàrsi Prakàsh*], nor has the *Gazetteer*."—"M.M.M.]

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21 in Trombay, 9 in Marol, and 61 in Thànà. (See *Pársi Prakàsh*, vol. I, p. 893).

1st May 1849: The Census in Bombay showed 114,698 Parsis, but the figures returned were, immediately after, declared to be erroneous.] [165]

According to the general census [166] of 1891 the number of Parsis in India was 89, 904; that is an increase of 4.91 per cent. over that of the census of 17th February 1881, when they numbered a total of 85,397. On the 26th of February 1891, the entire population of the Bombay Presidency, including the [Indian] States and Aden, gave a total of 26,960,421 inhabitants [167] of whom 76,774 were Parsis, (39,285 males, and 37,489 females). The surplus is divided between Madras, Bengal, and the districts of the Gaekwar of Baroda, where, among other flourishing settlements, is the ancient [Parsi] community of Naosari. To this number must be added the Parsis resident in China, and in some of the foreign localities, and the Iranians, 9,269 in number. The exact number of Zoroastrians scattered all over the globe we thus find to be a hundred thousand at the utmost!

165. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.].

166. The whole population of India comes to 287,223,431: Brahmins, 207,731,727; aboriginal tribes, 9,280,467; Sikhs, 190,783; Jains, 1,416,633; Zoroastrians, 89,904; Buddhists, 7,131,361; Jews, 17,194; Christians, 2,284,380; Mussulmans, 58,321,164; diverse races, 42,763. See " Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1883-84 to 1892-93: 28th November, (London, 1894.) Distribution of Population according to Religion, Sex, and Civil Condition," &c., p. 26, No. 14.

167. Parsis, 76,774; Hindoos, 21,440,957; Mussalmans, 4,390,995; Christians, 170,009; Jains, 555,209; Jews, 13,547; aboriginal tribes, 292,023; Budhists, 674; Sikhs, 912; Brahmo-Samaj, 34; diverse races, 51. In no part of India are religions and sects so mixed up as in the Presidency of Bombay. See " Ethnology of India" by Mr Campbell, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Supplementary Number, vol. xxxv. pt. ii, pp. 140, etc., etc.

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We refer to the *Zoroastrian Calendar* [168] for information concerning statistics, and in a special chapter we find a detailed list of the Parsi population of the city and the Presidency of Bombay. We take from it the Table A, [given in an Appendix to this Chapter], which gives the distribution of the population in the different centres. Occupying the first rank, we find Bombay with its 47,458 Parsis, and Surat with 12,757; then Broach, Thana, Poona, Karachi, down to the smallest of the localities, some of which stand for only a simple unit.[169]

168. The *Zoroastrian Calendar* for the Yezdezardi year 1262, (16th September 1892 to 15th September 1893), (printed and published in Gujarati at the Bombay Vartman Press, by Muncherji Hosungji Jagosh.) (1892). The Tables are very carefully done. An inquisitive reader will find there the enumeration of the Parsi population of Bombay according to the different districts, comparisons with the previous census, and remarks on the community.

[This Calender is issued every Parsi New Year. Muncherji H. Jagosh is now dead, but his son has continued the publication.—M.M.M.]

169. [In Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*, (1897), we have the following information, on p. 88: "In 1662, when the island of Bombay came into the possession of the English, the population did not exceed 10,000. In 1716, it was estimated at only 16,000 souls. In 1816, the result of a census, taken by Government, gave the following numbers:

British: not military	1,840
British: Military and Marine	2,460
Native Christians, Portuguese, and Armenians	11,500
Jews	800
Mahomedans	28,000
Hindoos	1,03,800
Parsees	13,150
Total ...	1,61,550

This statement, however, does not include the floating population computed to number about 60,000."

In the *Bombay Chronicle*, (founded under the auspices of the late Sir Pherozshah M. Mehta, in 1913), a daily newspaper, of 27th March 1915, (in the "Shells from the Sands of Bombay: Recollections

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Considering the importance of Bombay, we will quote from a Paper on it, read by Khàn Báhàdur Bomanji Byramji Patel, [the compiler of the *Parsi Prakash*, vols. I & II], before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.[170] We find there the lists of births, deaths, and marriages in the city of Bombay from 1881 to 1890. During that period of time, the average of births has risen per year to 1,450, and that of married women bearing children to 13.293 per cent. The average of deaths has reached 1,135, (575 of the male sex, 500 of the female sex), and 92 still-born, (52 of the male sex and 40 of the female sex). The annual average of mortality among children, below the age of five years, has been 469, (236 of the male sex and 233 of the female sex): between the ages of five and ten, 27, (13 of the male sex and 14 of the female sex): between the ages of eleven and twenty, 47, (20 of the male sex and 27 of the female sex): between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, 65, in the proportion of 27 to 38 for the two sexes: between the ages of thirty-one and forty, 62, in equal proportions for the two sexes: between the ages of forty-one and sixty, 177, (67 males and 90

and Reminiscenses of "Sandy Seventy" it is noted that a Mrs Graham has related that in 1809 the Parsis numbered 6 to 8 thousand in Bombay. In 1813, there was a census of the population residing within the walls of the Fort. It numbered 10,801. Of these, according to the official record, 250 were English, 5464 Parsis, 4061 Hindus, 775 Moore, 146 Portuguese, and 105 Armenians. One Table, given in an Appendix affixed to this Chapter, shows the population of the Parsis, in and out of India, according to the Census taken in the years 1864, 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.—M.M.M.]

170. "Statistics of Births, Deaths, and Marriages amongst the Parsis of Bombay, during the last ten years, 1881-1890," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. ii, November 1892, pp. 55-65.

[I have, in the text, retained the figures and the Census years, as given by the French authoress. The reader, and students of statistics, can easily form their own views and deductions from the later statistics given by me in the Appendixes affixed to this Chapter.—M.M.M.]

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females). Above the ages of eighty, the average reaches 37, of whom 13 are males and 24 females.

During these ten years, four persons have died at the age of 100, two at the ages of 101 and 105, and, lastly, one at the age of 110 years. These centenarians have been all women. The principal cause of mortality among Parsis is fever: thus, of 1,135 deaths, 293 may be attributed to it, 150 to nervous disorders, 91 to affections of the respiratory organs, 70 to dysentery, 38 to phthisis, one hundred to old age, and the rest to diverse other causes, such as measles, pleurisy, diarrhœa, etc.. According to the Table drawn up by Mr Patel the highest rate of mortality, in Bombay, was in the Fort,[170-A] and, next to it, in Dhobitalao, Baherkote, Khetwady etc., in proportion to the population of these localities [in the town and island of Bombay.]

After the crisis of 1865, a serious decrease of the population in Bombay had been apprehended for a time: but it was an exaggerated fear which disappeared with the census of 1881 [and those of later periods.] It has been proved, on the contrary, that the conditions of life among the Parsis, both as regards mortality and hygiene, have reduced the average of mortality among the individuals,—grown-up men, women and children. These latter, well-tended and carefully brought up, supply a splendid race, susceptible of culture, and endowed with perfect health. Accordingly, from 1872 to 1881, the Parsi population has increased nearly ten per cent. This increase has continued, and, as we have said, the highest increase has been estimated, in 1891, to be 491.[171]

170-A. [*Fort*: Once for all, it may be stated here that now there is nothing like 'Fort' in the strict sense of the word. It was demolished years ago. The locality now so called as 'the Fort' corresponds to "the City" in London, or "down-town" in New York.—M.M.M.]

171. [In an article, entitled "How France is losing in the Race for Population," in March 1908 Number of the American *Review of*

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It is in vain that communities of Parsis have been sought for outside those regions which we have indicated.(172) About sixty years ago [and more], a Mahomedan traveller did try to persuade others of the existence of a Parsi colony at Khoten, situated to the south-east of Káshgar; but Sir Alexander Burnes, in a communication to Mr Naoroji Fardunji dispelled this illusion.(173)

We cannot attach any more importance to an assertion, recently put forward, according to which the members of the tribe of the Shiàposh Káfirs, inhabiting the country to the north-east of Kabul, are descendants of the same race, because certain of their usages, as for example their manner of exposing their dead, are

Reviews, p. 361, the following, from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Munich, is worth noting: "It is evident that the increase in population is of paramount importance for the future of a country, since only the nation whose population is on the increase will be able, in decades and centuries to come, to hold its own in the competition for political and universal economical influence."—M.M.M.]

172. We refer to *Parsi Prakash*, for all these interesting details, those of our readers who can read and understand Gujarati.

173. "If I have not yet replied to your letter of the 19th November,"—he writes,—"it is because I desired to make special researches, concerning the strange rumour which has been spread by the Syed, on the subject of a tribe of Parsis, established at Khoten, remaining faithful to the Zoroastrian customs, and still governed by its own kings, I can tell you that it is a legend devoid of foundation, and that Major Rawlinson, so learned in these matters, partakes of my view. I suppose that the Syed, seeing the prosperous condition of your co-religionists in Bombay, imagined that in flattering your vanity he would act on your purse. Besides, the country of Khoten is not the *terra incognita* which he has depicted. I have been in touch with the people who have sojourned there; it is a dependency of China, inhabited by Mussulman subjects of the Empire: the only Chinese who are there form part of the garrison. According to all that has been said to me of Khoten and the adjacent countries, the only difficulty I have had is to define who are the Christian traders who frequent those markets. I think that they are Russians or Nestorian Christians."

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similar to those of the Zoroastrians. Sir Alexander Burnes, [174] in narrating his travels in Kabul in 1836-37-38, relates that the most curious of all the visitors to the country of the Kàfirs[175] was a man who came from Kàbul towards the year 1829. He gave himself out as a *Guebre* (fire-worshipper), and an Ibrahumi (follower of Abraham), who had quitted Persia to find some traces of his ancestors. During his sojourn in Kabul he willingly mixed with the Armenians and used to get himself called Shehryàr,—a name common enough among the modern Parsis. The tried, but in vain, to dissuade him from risking himself amongst the Kàfirs. He went to Jalàlàbàd and Lughmàn, where he left his baggage, and, as a simple beggar, entered Káfristan by way of Nujjeet. He was absent several months, and, on his return, was assassinated by the Huzaras of the tribe of Ali-Purast. Malik-Usman, furious at the conduct of his countrymen, exacted a fine of Rs. 2,000 as compensation for the bloodshed by them. All these details were given, by the Armenians of Kabul, to Sir Alexander Burnes, but he could not discover whether the unfortunate Shehryar was a Parsi of Bombay or a *Guebre* of Kirman. However, a document found in the possession of the traveller, and emanating from the Shàh of Persia, leads us to believe that the latter hypothesis is the true one.

The census of 1881 enables us to state some interesting facts which give us an idea of the occupations of the Parsis of Bombay, and of the mode of life led by them. Thus, there were at that time, 855 priests [mobeds] and persons devoted to religion, 141 teachers, 34 school-mistresses, 33 engineers, 1,384 clerks, and 115 servants.

174. See *Cabul: being a Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City, in the years 1836-7-8:* By the late Lieut-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes. (London, 1842.)

175. Vivien Saint Martin; *New Dictionary of Universal Geography.* vol. iii. p. 9. (Paris, 1887.)

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Naval construction (ship-building) seemed to have been one of their favourite occupations, for, out of 46 ship-builders, 26 were Parsis. As for '*Dubashes*' (or ship-brokers), out of a total of 159, there were 146 Parsis. All professions and handicrafts were largely represented, with the exception of that of tailor, which was exercised by only one member of the community. At one time, out of 9,584 beggars in the town of Bombay, there were only five Parsi-men and one Parsi woman.

[Mr S. M. Edwardes, of the Indian Civil Service, (afterwards Commissioner of Police for Bombay), in vol. xi part vi, page 21 of the Census of India, 1901, says in his Report :—"The general well-being of the [Parsi] community is perhaps shown by the fact that, out of the total number of homeless and destitutes, [in the town and island of Bombay], only 24 are Parsis."] (176)

As to the class of the unfortunate victims of vice and debauchery, a Parsi had not hesitated to affirm that *not one* of his co-religionists could have been accused of living on the wages of shame.(177) Travellers have made the same remarks. Thus, according to Mandelslo, adultery and

176. [Note inserted by me. In even as early as the times in which Briggs wrote his *Cities of Gujarashtra*, we find the following statement, on p. 118 :—"Poor as Surat is at this moment, no mendicant of the tribe [of the Parsis] is to be seen." Says Dastur Dr M. N. Dhalla, in his *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 217 : "Among other evils, mendicancy brings a drain on the resources of a society. For that reason, it is not consecrated in Zoroastrianism. In fact, it was not recognized at any period in the religious history of Iran."—M. M. M.]

177. "Returned herself as living on the wages of shame" (See Dosabhai Framji Karaka's *History of the Parsis*, vol. i. ch. iii. p. 99).—[For the *first* known cases of two Parsi fallen women, see *Parsi Prakâsh*, vol. II, p. 336, under date the 3rd of July 1870. On this date, these women applied, under the then newly introduced, but subsequently repealed, Infectious and Contagious Diseases Act. A meeting of the Parsis of Bombay was immediately held to take steps against this evil.—M. M. M.]

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lewdness were considered by the Parsis as the greatest sins they could commit, and which they would, doubtless, have punished with death if they themselves had the administration of justice. (See *Voyages*, etc: translation by Wicquefort, p. 184). We may state in this connection that Anquetil in his *Zend Avesta*, vol. II, p. 606 gives a precise account of a summary execution, under the sanction of the Punchayet, and with the approbation of the Mahomedan governor of Bharooch [Broach]. Stavorinus, at the end of the century, makes mention of Parsi women who had been preserved in the right path by the fear of punishment. (See *Voyages, etc.*, vol. I, ch. xxviii, p. 363.)[178]

[J. S. Stavorinus, a Dutch, in his *Voyages to the East Indies*, (translated into English from the original Dutch, by G.S.H. Wilcocke), writing in 1774 A.D., makes the following observations about the Parsis of Surat: "Pursuers of unlawful pleasures, spurred on by the desire of variety, and such as did not otherwise make any difficulty of confessing, and even triumphing in their amours, have uniformly assured me, that they have never succeeded in having their will of any Persian woman, notwithstanding they have neither spared assiduity nor money. The fear of punishment has so much influence upon these women, that they never dare consent, well knowing that if ever their indiscretion be discovered, they cannot escape certain death. They are seen, every

178. [Even at the present day, despite the advanced and educated views of the Parsis,—in matters social and religious,—the idea of a Parsi female appearing on the stage, for theatrical performances, is so repellent to their feelings that, when sometime ago, a report was bruited about that a certain theatrical company intended to draft, in it, a Parsi woman as an actress, the feeling, against the very idea, created a great stir in the community, and, but for the discreet withdrawal of the contemplated step, the stage, with such a person on it, incurred the risk of being "mobbed."—M. M. M.]

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day, in the streets, and frequently fetch water at a distance from their houses. A number of Persian women are, however, always together, and a young girl especially is very rarely seen by herself."] (179)

The following is a division, under seven heads, of the occupations of the Parsis, as shown in the census of 1881 :—

	Men.	Women.
Tradesmen	1,940	59
Servants (180)	2,079	416
Merchants	3,317	2
Agriculturists	67	2
Manufacturers	3,610	87
Not classified	565	139
Sundry	13,737	22,579

There is some reason for not wondering at the disinclination of the Parsis for agriculture and the profession of arms. Agriculture had been very flourishing in the hands of the first colonists ; but tastes changed, and from men of the field they became men of the town. At the beginning of the century, some of them were still in possession of vast tracts of land, and spent much money in improving them. But these gradually passed into other hands, a circumstance in any case greatly to be regretted.(181)

179. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

180. Parsis have never followed certain occupations, such as those of a day-labourer, palanquin-bearer, barber, etc. etc.,

181. Let us note the efforts of Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay (1877-80), who, on his way to Naosari, reminded the Parsis of certain verses, of the *Vendidad*, relating specially to agricultural or pastoral occupations, and exhorted them to continue such traditions. Since then a rich Parsi of Bharooch, Mr Rastamji Maneckji, has taken on lease, from the chief of Rajpipla, a great stretch of land in the Panch-Mahals, and has cultivated it with success. He has been

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As to their seeming reluctance to accept military service, we will see what an enlightened Parsi,—who has in this case made himself the spokesman of his co-religionists,—has to say. As a matter of fact, the Persians, in olden times, distinguished themselves, amongst all, by their valour and courage. In the inscription engraved on his tomb at Naksh-e-Rustam, king Darius might well say, with a just feeling of pride, that they had only to look at the images of those who supported his throne to know into what distant places the Persian soldier had carried his arms! The famous struggles, maintained by the Ardesirs, the Shahpoors, and the Noshirvans, show that this warlike temper had not subsided.(182) Why

outstripped by Kavasji Framji Banaji in his beautiful estates of Pawai. Lord Mayo has highly recognized the great importance of agricultural studies, and, in 1870, he declared that the progress of India in riches and in civilization depended on the progress of agriculture. See Strachey's *India*, ch. ix., and Hunter's *Bombay*, etc., about the question of agricultural education, (ch. vi, pp. 158, 159-166), and about the foundation of a Chair of Agriculture at Baroda under the auspices of the Gaekwar, at the suggestion of Lord Reay, (p. 168.)

[While these pages are going through the press, (1916), it has been announced that the Mahrajah of Gowaliar (an Indian State) has entered into an arrangement to lease out sites of land, in his territory, to Parsis who wish to migrate there for purposes of agriculture.—M.M.M.]

182. [The indefatigable Ervad Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Modi has been able to scrutinize, recently, some valuable Portuguese documents relating to the Parsis at Tàràpur, Nargol, Daman and adjoining places. I shall let Dr Modi give the history of these in his own words :—"Mr. Rattonji Bhimjibhai Patel, of Nargol, has kindly placed in my hands a number of Portuguese documents relating to the Parsis. As Secretary of the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet [Trust Funds] I have put in an appeal in the Parsi [news] papers of Bombay, in their issues of 23rd Dec. 1899, requesting Parsis, in possession of old Parsi documents, to send the original or true copies of their documents to the office of the Punchayet, so that proper materials may be collected there, for the past history of the community. The above (Portuguese)

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then should the descendants of such heroes abstain from taking part in military exercises and in defending the country ?(183)

Mr Dosabhai Framji Karaka gives the following explanation of this abstention.(184) In the first place he indignantly repudiates the theory put forward by certain European authors that it proceeds purely from religious motives, on account of the homage they are supposed to pay to fire, which would prevent them from handling a cannon or shouldering a gun. Nothing at all, in fact, prevents them from making use of fire in the handling of offensive and defensive weapons.

[In 1852, in his book on the Parsis, Briggs says:— "A leaning to European manners, and happier still, a thirst for European knowledge, is rapidly wearing away ancient prejudices, and having a glorious course for a

documents were kindly handed to me,—in response to that appeal,—in the year 1901. They refer to years 1667 to 1778. They are kindly translated for me by Mr. John Godinho. They are twenty-one in number, of which three seem to be extra copies, serving as accompaniments. They can be divided into three batches."

Now I come to the point I wish to record here. Dr Modi continues to say: "The first batch consists of 6 papers, which show that the Parsis served, in large numbers, as soldiers, under the Portuguese Government. At times, they served even as Volunteers, and, as such, they had their own Companies commanded by their own co-religionists as Ensigns and Captains. They are dated 12th Feb. 1738 to 30th July 1739. (For the Portuguese text of this first batch of documents, *vide* the issues of the *Anglo Lusitano*, (a newspaper published in Bombay), dated 13th and 27th Dec., 1902, and 3rd, 10th and 24th January, 1903."—See *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates*: by Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A. (1905)—M.M.M.]

183. See, for the Army in India, Strachey's *India*, (translation by Harmand), chap. iii, pp. 52 *et seq*; Hunter: *Bombay*, etc., ch. xiv. pp. 448 *et seq.*

184. Dosabhai Framji Karaka: *History of the Parsis*, vol. I. pp. 101 *et seq.*

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coming generation. Since the celebrated fire in Bombay in 1802, when the larger portions of the buildings in that portion of the Fort occupied by natives were destroyed, the Parsis have notoriously assisted in quenching fire; not only in Bombay, but this had been witnessed, in Calcutta and in China; at the former, from the testimony of Mr. Bailie Fraser; and at the latter, the writer has learned of several credible eye-witnesses. Parsis are said to entertain scruples, not only about putting out a flame or fire, in any form, but to use fire-weapons of any kind; yet the writer has seen one Parsi fire off a pistol, and happens to be aware of another who has been engaged in a duel, and carries, to this day, the brand of his opponent's bullet."] (185)

[Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharuchà,(186) in his *Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs*, written for the Religious Congress in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, at Chicago, says (at p. 35 of the 2nd ed.): "This outward and visible regard for fire, as a beneficent creation of Ahura-Mazda and as a potent and salutary natural agent, gave rise to the misnomer of the Zoroastrians being called 'fire-worshippers.' But it is a gross misconception generated through the ignorance and disregard of the essential and underlying principle that none of the elements, though esteemed as objects of great usefulness, was ever regarded by them as, in them-

185. [This has been inserted by me from Briggs: *The Parsis or Modern Zardusthians*: (1852): pp. 33 and 34.—M.M.M.]

186. [These and some other subsequently mentioned notes were supplied to me by one whom I must now (alas!) call my late friend and guide, Ervad Sheheriarji D. Bharucha. He died on the 2nd of September 1915. His grandson Farrokh E. Bharucha has contributed, to the 1915 Number of the *Journal of the Iranian Association*, of Bombay, an almost complete life-sketch of the learned Ervad. With the assistance of others, a reprint, in brochure form, of this life-sketch has been brought out by me.—M.M.M.]

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A picture idealizing a Firdusian episode.

(Adapted by me from a picture specially painted for Walter Hutchinson's *History of the Nations*, vol. II. p. 987.—M. M. M.)

Firdusi (941—1020 A. D.) was the father of the world-famous Persian literature. "His great service to the country (of Persia) was the preservation of the ancient legends in the *Shah-Nama* ('Book of Kings'), out of vast materials. Quarrelling with his monarch Mahmud of Ghazni, Firdusi wandered about Persia,..and finally found his way to Tus in extreme old age, when he was greatly affected on hearing a child lisp a..quatrain of his own.."—*History of the Nations.*

As the story is not explicitly told the ellipsis may be thus supplied: The Zoroastrian child was taunted by a Moslem that he was an *atash-parast* ('fire-worshipper'). Piqued by this insult, the little mite atonce appealed to an old man—no other than Firdusi himself, but unknown to the child!—and inquired of him if he had read Firdusi's world-famous lines, (for which see p. 180, *post*), attesting to a Zoroastrian being a worshipper only of "God the Holy."

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selves, deities independent of Ahura-Mazda, the Supreme God, who alone has, again and again, received the highest veneration as being the sole object of worship and adoration. The main influence, which fire, as the earthly source of light and heat, exercises on the economy of the universe, is sufficient to vindicate the high regard and esteem in which it was held by the ancient Iránians; and, though this outward veneration, for a mighty physical agent, may have lent colour and strength to the charge, which the ignorance or bigotry of their opponents was not slow to invent, it is an undoubted fact that the charge has been invariably denounced by Zoroastrians themselves, and that, thoughtful and fair-minded writers of antiquity, no less than the learned scholars of modern times, have absolved them from the oft repeated charge, and formed a correct conception of the fanciful grounds on which it was based. Throughout all the sacred writings, as we have seen, the most solemn and emphatic injunction has been laid to worship Ahura-Mazda, the Supreme God, and Him alone; and, in all times, Zoroastrians have, in their writings, been called '*Mazdayasna*,' i.e., the worshippers of God Mazda. So that, though the ancient Iranians esteemed fire as the symbol of divinity, and, as such, worthy of respect and reverence, they never professed themselves to be the worshippers of fire. Zoroaster, in his own *Gáthás*, speaks of fire as a bright and powerful creation of Ahura-Mazda, and prefers it, as a symbol of divinity, to idols and other created objects. But nowhere does he enjoin the worship of fire. On the contrary, he most emphatically enjoins the worship of Ahura-Mazda alone. He says: "Let, to Thy fire, be offered the salutation of holiness, and not, as far as I am able, to that worshipped by *Manya*." (*Gáthá* II, há I.9) Herodotus, while he refers to this reverence of the Iranians for the fire, nowhere affirms that they were fire-worshippers. Firdosi, [a Mahomedan], too, bears emphatic testimony

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on the point, and warmly repels the charge, of fire-worship, often hurled against the Zoroastrians. Says he, in the *Shàh-Nàmeh*,[187] the immortal Epic which has evoked the highest admiration of all ages:

Na gui ké àtash-parastàn budand,
Parastanda-e-pák Yazdán budand.

187. [Palanji Burjorji Desai,—for some years editor of the *Rast Goftar* weekly newspaper,—at the conclusion of his Paper, in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, (p. 49), says: "This much seems to be certain that some of the *dàstàns* [=narrations], in the *Shah-Nameh*, do not belong to the historical part of the work, but they are added to embellish this world-famous Book of Kings, having been collected from the old Iranian and foreign legends, and that some of the stories are imitated or transcribed from the Sanskrit epic, the *Màhàbhàrat*, such as the love-story of Bizhan and Manizeh, and the warlike episodes, exploits, and achievements of King Kaikhusru, which the Bard of Iran, [*i.e.*, Firdausi], admits of in his way." Mr Desai also opines that the story of Isfandiar's *Haftakhán*, and that of the deliverance of his sister from the hands of Arjàsp, to have been transcribed from the *Rámáyana*.

The *Shah-Nameh* is a history in rhyme. It contains the annals and achievements of the ancient kings of Persia, from Kaiumers down to the invasion and conquest of that empire by the Saracens, in 636,—that is a traditional period of more than 36,000 years. It was completed by Firdausi in 997 A. D., though begun by another author named Dakiki. Firdausi is usually called the Homer of the East. M. Mohl has translated this Persian epic into French, and entitles it *Livres des Rois*. The Hon'ble Alexander Rogers, an ex-member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay, published, in 1907, a translation in English. James Atkinson, of the East-India Bengal Medical Service, has translated it, (in an abridged edition), into English, but it is much too small a work to give the reader any adequate idea of the great epic of Firdausi. In his Preface, Atkinson says the epic "was finished early in the eleventh century, from the tales and legends, for ages traditionally known throughout the country (of Persia), and, in accordance with that origin, it abounds in adventures of the most wild and romantic description, in prodigious efforts of strength and valour; and there are heroines to be met with in the Persian bard, as intrepid and beautiful as ever vanquished heart or wielded sword in western poetry. It is, in fact, considered one of

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(*Meaning*:)—'Do not say that they were 'fire worshippers': For, they were worshippers of God, the Holy.' "(188)

the finest productions of the kind which Oriental, or rather, perhaps, Mahommedan nations can boast; and, though the general character of Persian compositions is well known to be excess of ornament and inflation of style, the language of Firdausi is comparatively simple, and possesses a greater portion of the energy of our own poets than has been commonly admitted. His verse is exquisitely smooth and flowing, and never interrupted by inverted and harsh forms of construction. He is perhaps the sweetest as well as the most sublime poet of Persia. In epic grandeur, he is above all, and he is, besides one of the easiest to be understood."

Says *The Parsi*, (an Anglo-Gujarati journal of Bombay, in 1915 re-christened as *Praja-Mitra and Parsi*), in its Number for the 2nd of February, 1908:—"Of the two principal classes of Poetry, the lyric and the epic, the best type of Persian lyric is generally attributed to Hafiz who is often compared to the Greek poet Anacreon. Both sing beautifully of what the Germans call "Wein, Weib und Gasang," *i.e.* Wine, Wife, and Song. Firdousi's *Shah-Namah* represents the best type of the Epic. His *Shah-Namah* had so much captivated the mind and the heart of the Persians of his time, including the courtiers of Mahomed Gaznavi, that it served as a model to a number of imitative poems known under the name of Nàmàs, such as 'Jehangir-Námáh, 'Burjor-Námáh,' 'Gustasp-Námàh,' etc. *It* is believed that Firdousi had so much exhausted the old Pahlavi traditions, as preserved in writings or in orally sung ballads, that the later Persian poets had to draw upon their imagination for a greater number of their so-called historical 'Nàmás' or books. If any proof be wanted in support of this belief, we can say, that, while many of the names of kings and heroes, mentioned by Firdousi in his *Shàh-Nàmàh*, are found in the *Avesta* and Pahlavi writings, most of those mentioned by later poets in their 'Námàs' or 'books of kings' are not found there. Hence, the popularity of the *Shah-Namah*, among Parsis, is, among other reasons, due to the fact, that in the *Shah-Namah*, they find, as it were, a running commentary or explanations of some of the historical allusions in the *Avesta*, especially in the *Yashts*.

"Mr. Rogers introduces his book, [the English version of the *Shah-Namah*], with a short Introduction which contains a brief account of the life of Firdousi. Pickering very appropriately compares an event in the life of Firdousi with that in the life of the English poet Spencer. As

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[This sort of ignorance was not confined to men partially familiar with the manners and customs of the Parsis. The ignorance extended even to such well-known

stated by Mr. Rogers, Mahomed Gaznavi had promised to pay to Firdousi a gold *miscal* for every couplet he wrote. But his minister, Hasan Maemandy, came in the way of the poet, and the result was, that, instead of 60,000 *gold miscals* for 60,000 couplets, the poet was offered 60,000 *silver* dinars. The consequence was that the poet died broken-hearted. Now, an old biographer of Spencer refers to a similar event in his life. As one of the editors of his poems says "there passeth a story commonly told and believed that on Spencer presenting his poems to Queen Elizabeth, she, highly affected therewith, commanded the Lord Cecil, her treasurer, to give him a hundred pounds; and when the treasurer alleged that the sum was too much, 'Then give him,' quoth the Queen, 'what is reason,' to which the Lord consented, but was so busied, belike, about matters of higher concernment, that Spencer received no reward, whereupon he presented this petition on a small piece of paper to the Queen in her progress :—

I was promis'd on a time
To have reason for my rhyme;
From that time unto this season
I receiv'd nor rhyme nor reason."

Spencer was more fortunate than his Iranian brother-poet. His petition drew the attention of Elizabeth to his case, and he was instantly paid the promised amount. In the field of literature one can very appropriately compare the time of Queen Elizabeth with that of Mahomed Gaznavi when Firdousi flourished.....

"Mr. Rogers has followed the Calcutta text of Mecan for his translation. It appears that the first volume of Mecan's text is more fully dealt with by the translator than the other three volumes. Nearly half of Mr. Rogers' volume refers to the first volume, the remaining half dealing with the other three volumes. This treatment is quite natural, because it is the first portion of the *Shah-Namah* that is more romantic. Again, from the Parsi point of view also, it is the early portion that is very important, and well-nigh sacred, because it throws light upon those passages of the *Avesta*, which are left unexplained even with the help of Pahlavi books.

"We agree with Mr. Edwin Oliver, who, in a short Preface, says: 'Mr. Rogers has done his best to interpret the thought, the expression, and the style of Firdousi as closely as that expression of a foreign

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men as Sir William Erskine. He says, in his Paper on 'The Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsis': "Their reverence for the elements makes them careful in no manner to defile them. No impurity is allowed to be thrown into the fire or the water. None of them are smiths, though prevented by no positive injunction; they

medium would permit." The book is dedicated to the late Mr. Merwanji Noshirwanji Bhownaggree, father of Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree." The Messrs. Kootar brothers are now issuing several volumes of the *Shâh-Nâmeh* in Gujarati, with the Persian verses transliterated into Gujarati characters. Dastur K. J. Jâmâsp Asânâ has also published a Gujarati epitome of this Epic. The late M. Muncherji Cowasji Langdânâ (Mansookh) set into Gujarati verses, the portion relating to Rustam and his son Sohrâb.—M M.M.]

188. [Inserted by me. As to any mandate, in the Zoroastrian religion, to erect *Atash-Beharam*, see my note, in the text, in Chapter on "Fêtes." M. Moncalm, in his *Origin of Thought and Speech*, (English edition by G. S. Whitmarsh), p. 187, says: "That which has often been called the adoration of fire was at first its application to the necessities of domestic life, and afterwards its use in all mechanical and artistic pursuits. If we transfer ourselves to that early stage of life, and picture the difficulties there, in primitive times, of procuring fire at a moment's notice, and dangers which would menace a whole community deprived of fire in the midst of winter, and plunged suddenly in darkness, we require no far-fetched explanation for a number of time-hallowed customs, throughout the world, connected with the lighting, and still more with the guarding, of the fire. The natural desire for possessing so useful an object, and the no less natural terror of being deprived of it, would lead men to adopt the practices of maintaining it, afterwards called superstitious, but which, during the infancy of humanity, were perfectly natural, and which developes into a sacred rite. At a later period, vestal virgins were appointed to guard it in the temples; and the fires of St. John, which are still lighted annually on the tops of certain mountains, are the last remains of these ancient customs." On page 204, he further observes: "Guided by the science of language, and following the path, in the Vedic hymns, taken by the humanity preceding us, we see how the concept of God, in its germ in the name *Deva*, grew from the idea of light to active light, the one who wakens, the giver of daily light, of warmth and new life." M.M.M.]

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never extinguish any light, nor do they enlist as sepoys, pretending that they dare not defile fire by the use of fire-arms. In the great fire in Bombay, in 1803, they stood by for a long time idle, witnessing the progress of the flames; but when they found them continuing to spread, to the ruin of their houses and property, their interest got the better of their scruples, and many of them wrought, with great alacrity, in procuring water and in helping to extinguish the fire."] [189]

[In *Parsi Prakash* (vol. I, p. 882) we read that about 200 houses of the Parsis were burnt. It is impossible to believe that any religious scruples intervened against such a catastrophe!

"The Zoroastrian books enjoin, as referred to also by Herodotus and others, that rivers and other fresh-water reservoirs should not be polluted. Now, this injunction was given from a sanitary point of view, because, rivers supplied drinking-waters to many. According to Tacitus, Tiridates, king of Armenia, an orthodox Zoroastrian, hesitated to go to Rome, when called there by Emperor Nero to be crowned the king of Armenia, because he would have to go by sea, which, he thought, was against Zoroastrian precepts. But this is believed to be a pretext and due to his reluctance to go to Nero or to make a sea-voyage. Instead of looking to the spirit of the injunction, Tiridates and others took it in its letter, and said that going to long distance by sea,—when they had necessarily to pollute water,—was prohibited. So he refused to go to Rome. The same is said of his brother Vologeses I, the Vulkhash of the Pahlavi books." (See J. J. Modi: *A Glimpse, etc.*, p. 139.)

Among the observances ordered by that great Mongol conqueror, Changhiz Khan, one is of the prohibition "to void urine in water or fire." Mr Rehatsek, in

189. [Note placed here by me. See the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. II, pp. 349, 350.—M.M.M.]

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his Paper on "Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368," in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (vol. XIII, (1877), pp. 152, 302):—thinks this "is perhaps traceable to the immemorial belief in the sacredness of the so-called four elements still surviving in Zoroastrianism, and formerly universal in the whole of Central Asia; this veneration was carried so far that even the hands were not to be dipped into flowing water, and clothes were not washed, but worn till they fell to pieces: which appears to be an exaggerated application of an injunction, salutary to nomadic tribes, to be sparing of water, which they generally carry about, in their wanderings, in skins that can be replenished only when they happen to pass near streams."] (190)

["We shall now turn to see what the *Avesta* has to say about light, which has rightly been the favourite object of appreciation to the sacred writers. According to the *Avesta*, the celestial light, considered in itself, is the most important and the most interesting of all the objects of Ahura-Mazda. Since this sublime element, through its principal boons of illumination, beauty, life, and sustenance, attracts to itself the love of the whole universe, it is most properly called, in the *Avesta*, by the

190. [Notes placed here by me. See J.J. Modi's *A Glimpse*, etc., pp. 139, *et seq.*—For an interesting contribution on the subject of the alleged 'fire-worship' by the Parsis, see N. F. Bilimoria's contribution, entitled "The Fire Worship," in his *Zoroastrianism in the Light of Theosophy*. He divides the treatment of his subject under the following sub-heads: (1) Universal adoration of Fire, (2) What this general reverence of fire is due to, (3) Cosmogenisis of Fire, (4) Anthropogenisis of Fire, and (5) The Worship. His observations, regarding and quotations from the late Bishop Leo Meurin's writings, are replete with ideas shewing how even the Christians are one in Fire-Worship.

In an Appendix affixed to this Chapter III, (relating to "Population"), I have given a collection of "Opinions of various writers, as to the alleged worship, by Parsis, of the Sun and Fire."—M.M.M.]

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designation of Mithra : the word having, for its root, '*mit*'=unite, and signifying 'that which unites.'

"In the *Meher Yasht*, (which is longer that all other Yashts), Mithra is represented as the first-born ('*aghrim*'), matchless, ('*amithwem*'), the most powerful, ('*aojishtanam aojishtem*'), the greatest ('*mazishto*'), and the fairest, ('*hudhato*') creature of Ahura-Mazda.....

"Mithra was created by Ahura-Mazda, in order that all the beauties of nature might be rendered visible. Mithra, rising on the eastern mountain, Hara-berezaiti, throws his rays across and illumines all the seven regions of the earth. His influence is universal. He is the greatest benefactor, the best purifier..... the prime-cheerer....the preserver, and the maintainer.....of all the creatures of Mazda.....He is the vivifier and promoter of the waters.....and the increaser of the vegetable and and animal kingdoms.....He gives men health, happiness: and joy.....He challenges all the off-springs of darkness-drives away and puts to terrified flight the *daevas* Bush-yasta ('indolence'), Angra-mainyu ('evil spirit'), Aeshma ('anger'), and so forth.

"Mithra ('light') is highly exalted above all things. He, next to God, commands the affection and respect of all humanity. Ahura and Mithra are both invoked together. (*Yasht*, X. 113 : *Yasna*, I. 11, etc.). In the first paragraph of the *Meher Yasht*, Mithra is said to be as worthy of praise and adoration as Ahura-Mazda Himself. Mithra, in fact, represents Ahura-Mazda, for Ahura-Mazda is full of light. *Yasna* XXXVI. 6 and LVIII 8, tells us that the most majestic of all lights, such as that of the sun, forms the most beauteous body of Ahura-Mazda. In *Yasna* I. 11, the brilliant sun is called the eye of Ahura-Mazda.....No darkness dwells in the abode of Ahura-Mazda. There is light round about Him. The Garonmâna, where His golden throne is, is all-shining and brilliant. It is the principal seat of Ahura-Mazda as

well as of Mithra. It is the starting-point whence the chariot of Mithra sets out on its journey round the world. So nothing can be more clear than that, in the *Avesta*, light is not a separate object of devotion and worship, but only the symbol of Ahura-Mazda. "The material sun is the most sublime image of God Himself, who is for the spiritual world what the sun is for the material world. God is the Sun of justice and eternal truth, of the highest beauty and of infinite love, of the purest sanctity and most perfect beatitude. Light is so rich in superior and glorious qualities that we cannot describe it. It always was, and is still, studied with admiration by scientists, and praised in enraptured songs of poets. They call it the bloom of colours, the beauty of the world, the smile of Heaven, the joy of nature, the image of God, the life of all things, the delight of eye and soul, the encircling bond of the universe. Its first and principal praise consists in its having been the first ornament of the world in creation, which dispelled chaotic darkness and disorder on earth, and therefore was praised, by the Creator Himself, as a great good." (Sheeben). Hence it is that Zarathushtrians, while praying to Ahura-Mazda, stand and bow before light, whether it be the purer light radiating from the sun, the moon, or the stars, or it be artificial, such as emanates from our own hearth.

"As for Atar ('fire'), he is the most welcome guest at the hearth of the Zarathushtrian, who is enjoined to feed him with wood and incense, and thus keep him always alight. (*Yasna*, LXII.1-3). He is the universal instrument of all necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of life. In *Yasna* XVII.11, we find epithets expressive of the author's appreciation of his benefits. He is called *berezisavanha* ('highly useful'), *urvazishta* ('most joyful'), *vazishte* ('most helpful'), and *spenishta* ('most beneficent'). He is most energetic, powerful, and joy-creating. (*Yasna*, XLIV.4). He is a good and comforting friend (*atrem*

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vohu-fryanem) (*Yasna* XVII.11). He gives man abundance of glory, much nourishment, an active soul, an expanded mind, lasting virility, and long life. (*Yasna* LXII. 4, 5). He is a great purifier of all substances in Nature..... (*Yasna* XXXVI. 1).

"Fire is also called Ardibehesht (Avesta: *Ashavahishta*=the Perfect Order.) According to the *Avesta*, Atar and Asha are most intimately connected with each other. "O thou Spirit (God)! Give us that joy and satisfaction through Thy Atar and Asha...." (*Yasna*, XXXI. 3). "And we invoke Thy Atar, O Ahura! powerful, most swift, energetic, joy-creating, and helpful in various ways through Asha....." (*Yasna*, XXXIV. 4). "Whom hast Thou appointed as our protector when the wicked held me in hate, whom except Thyself, Thy Fire, and Thy Vohuman, by whose deeds Asha is maintained....." (*Yasna*, XLVI. 7).

"As light," says Samuel Johnson, "fire is the symbol of truth: as heat, of love: as cosmic vital energy, of conscious being: as astronomical centre, of unity: as all-producing and all-sustaining, of creative and providential care....Penetrating, stirring, and shaping all things, it is the image of every pure, perfect, irrepressible power. It is the first-born of creation: germ, seed, and atom, the children of its play. The soul itself is said to glance down from heaven as a beam of light, and as a beam to return whence it came. The Zoroastrian meant, by fire, whatever was noblest in personal will; and would not allow that it ever destroyed life, even when one was burned to death (*Vendidâd* V. 9). It must serve life and not destroy it. Pyrolatry is common to all religions. No other element so perfectly represents supreme force as the element of fire. For all tribes, from India to Peru, the fire,—burning on the altar, fed by the purest and most vigilant that it may never become extinct,—is the type of security, immortality, and adequate care. Into this holy hearth-flame [Hestia], parent of the city, the homestead,

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the shrine, awful to gods and inviolable to men, no defiled things shall enter. For the Greek, the solemnity of oaths sat there to rule Olympus itself; for the Roman, the guardianship of the State. The Vedic Aryan saw Agni rise from his primitive fire-churn, to bring down the blessings of the gods, the flame of his living tongue, his leaping steed, swift as thought to make earth and heaven. The Turanian Magi of Media adored the same element. How the Semite's passion played all its keys on this element of fire,—Assyrian, Phœnician, Hebrew, in symbols of creation, preservation, destruction.....His Jehovah seals covenants with men by moving in a smoky flame between the parted offerings, burns in Senai, in the desert pillar, in the face of Moses over the ark. He is not only a fire that devours the sacrifice, but a blaze no man can see and live. To Christianity he descends in the shining cloud, the transfigured countenance, the judgment fires, that attend its.....Christ. Nor can Jesus find any symbol of the coming of his Kingdom more suitable than the lightening's flash from east to west. With what ease and grace the type absorbs all others! 'Allah,' says the *Koràn*, 'is a flame burning like a star, as a lamp set in pure glass within a niche."

"In the face of all the foregoing statements with regard to light and fire, is it possible and justifiable to charge the Avestan system with preaching fire-worship? The Avestans and their descendants recognised physical light as only the symbol of truth, purity, and of the Deity, Ahura-Mazda."][191]

191. [Excerpts placed here, by me, from Dastoor Rastomji Edulji Dastoor Peshotanji Sanjana's *Zarathushtra and Zaràthushtrianism in the Avesta*, pp. 172 *et seq.*—M. Moncalm, in his *Origin of Thought and Speech*, says on p. 175: "The Hindoo poets, the authors of these [Vedic] hymns, gave various names to the sun, according to the task it accomplished; and each name reproduced the salient feature of the task. The sun when rising was Mitra ('=friend'); as

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[As to the history of this fire-cult, Dastur Dr M. N. Dhalla says in his *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 42: "The early Aryan settlers of Iran had brought the cult to their new home as the cherished heritage bequeathed to them by their Indo-Iranian ancestors. Tradition speaks of several great sacred Iranian fires consecrated by the pre-Zoroastrian kings. The Pahlavi *Bundahishn* mentions the fact that Yima and Kavi Haosravah established the fires Froba and Goshasp; and that Vishtaspa, the royal patron of Zarathushtra, consecrated the fire Burzin Mihr. The Muhammadan writers of the tenth century speak of some ten such places dedicated to fire *before* Zoroaster's time. (On the different fires, see especially Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 98-100.) The prophet of Iran thus found the cult of fire already established in Iran when he entered upon his divine mission on earth. He purified its archaic form, incorporated the cult into his

it advances on its journey, giving new life, it is Savitar (='bringing forth, or leading day'); the vivifying sun, when it collects the clouds and sends rain on the earth, it is Indra, from *ind-u* (='drops'); and it continues to be Indra when its rays attain their zenith, and reach their greatest splendour; for no plant flourishes without the combined action of light and humidity; the sun is Vishnu when it makes "its three strides" in the vault of heaven, its position in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; it is *Varuna*—the all embracing—when it envelopes itself in clouds as in a shroud and the sky darkens. Some phenomena,—descended on man from above, such as thunderbolts, winds, storms, the storms that came unexpectedly, dealing destruction as they passed,—received the name of Maruts—from the root *Mar*—and with the meaning of those who strike or beat to death; the thunder was called *Rudra* (='he who roars'); the wind *Vayyu* (='he who blows'). All these names indicated that which could be seen and that which could be heard; the invisible things remained unnamed; how was it possible for man to name that of which he was ignorant (except that they had real existence)? He who could only conceive a name after having seen a certain feature or quality in the object. They made use therefore of the names they already knew, and they rang the changes on the storm, the fire, and the firmament, which names they borrowed."—M.M.M.]

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new system. Of all the elements, he raised fire, or light to a place of the highest distinction in his faith.

"Ahura Mazda is eternal light, his very nature is light. He lives in the everlasting lights of the highest heaven. Light,—in its various manifestations, whether as the fire of the hearth on earth, or the fiery substance in the bowels of the earth, or as the genial glow of the sun in the azure vault of heaven, or the silvery sheen of the crescent moon in the sky, or the flickering brilliancy of the stars in the firmament, or even in the form of life-giving energy distributed unto the entire creation,—is emblematic of Mazda. No wonder, then, if the Prophet of Ancient Iràn made fire the consecrated symbol of his religion,—a symbol which, in point of sublimity, grandeur, and purity, or in its being the nearest earthly image of the heavenly Lord, is unequalled by any of its kind in the world." On p. 7 (*op. cit.*) the learned author observes: "The fire-cult.....is undoubtedly Indo-Iranian, and the fire-priest *athravan* must have tended the sacred flame at the altar in Iràn long before the coming of the prophet [Zoroaster]. In fact, Zarathushtra's ancestors had a ritual, in honour of fire, in common with the Vedic *athravan* in their primitive home, long before his forebears migrated in Iran."] [192].

[The first known step taken on behalf of Parsis, to get themselves enrolled as Volunteers, appears to have been as late as in 1877, in which year, on the 30th of June, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Town-Hall of Bombay, by the Sheriff, Kharshedji Fardunji Pàrakh, on the requisition of 23 Europeans, in order to resolve upon the question of raising a corps of *European* volunteers. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., Governor of Bombay, presided. Mr. [afterwards Sir] Pherozshah Mehervanji Mehta, after expressing his disapproval of the

192. [Excerpts placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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invidious distinction sought to be made, moved an amendment that the meeting did not deem it necessary to resolve that a corps consisting exclusively of Europeans need be raised, as the meeting was composed of also Indian citizens, that a resolution to such an effect it would not be desirable to pass in *this* meeting. Thereupon, H. E. the Governor explained that, according to law, a corps comprising natives of India, could not be formed, and suggested that, if natives of the country were desirous of being enrolled as volunteers, they should pass a resolution to that effect in a public meeting, and that their application would then receive consideration. The discussion was, thereupon, dropped. On the 13th of May 1878, some of the Parsi inhabitants of Poona petitioned to Lord Lytton, [192 A] Viceroy of India, for permission to raise a corps consisting of Parsis only. On 17th June following, a reply was received, over the signature of the then Secretary to the Government of India, intimating, among other matters: "....His Excellency in Council has no objection to the admission of Parsees, or any other native Indian subjects of the Empress, into Volunteer Corps; but His Excellency-in-Council does not think it advisable that separate corps, or even companies, consisting solely of natives, should be formed.....Nevertheless, if any natives, either Parsees or others, should desire to take their place amongst the

192 A. [In a letter to Queen Victoria, in 1876, (published in Lord Lytton's Personal and Literary Letters, vol. II, p. 6.), he says: "These Parsees are, I think, among the very best of your Majesty's Indian subjects; and I wish that your Majesty had more of them. They are a wonderfully thriving community wherever you find them. They have a genius for business, and rarely fail in it. I have not yet seen a thin Parsee, and I doubt if I have seen a poor one. A population engaged in successful industry, and making money rapidly, is always conservative and loyal to the power which protects its purse."—M.M.M.]

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European members of a volunteer corps, understanding sufficiently the English language, adopting the uniform of the corps, and being willing and able to share in its duties, the Governor-General-in-Council would be glad to see them enrolled in it ....." In pursuance of this intimation, Kavasji Dorabje Mess-agent,—one of the principal signatories to the above-mentioned petition,—applied, on 14th July 1878, to the military authorities for admission into the Bombay Volunteer Rifle Corps. On the Military Department having referred this letter to the Government of Bombay, a reply from the latter was received, through the Secretary to Government, in which it was stated: ".....under the rules of that Corps none but Europeans can be enrolled in it; that it has been ascertained that the Corps will not consent to alter the rules in this respect; and that, consequently, His Excellency the Governor-in-Council regrets his inability to move on your behalf in this matter. But, as it is understood that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Volunteer Rifle Corps may consent to admit natives of India, you are recommended to apply to the officers, commanding that Corps, on the subject. I am, at the same time, to observe that this Government duly appreciate the public loyalty evinced by you in desiring to serve as a Volunteer."] (193.)

At the time of certain riots in Bombay, gunsmiths' shops were seen to be rapidly emptied by the Parsis, and, thirty-five years back, they were enthusiastic in joining the first Volunteer movement. But, in 1877, only Europeans were invited to join it. Still, protests Mr D. F. Karaka, there are certainly no Indians more eager than the Parsis to share in the defence

193. [Information placed here by me. See *Pârsi Prakâsh*. vol. II. p. 592. For Parsis as military-men during the Portuguese rule, in parts of India, see an interesting article in *The Parsi*, vol. I, p. 258.—M.M.M.]

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of British interests. In several localities [in India and in England], they have joined the volunteer corps, and have obtained much envied distinctions. They are able to attain a high degree of skill in the handling of fire-arms; for example, Mr Dorabji Padamji, (194) son of the late Sirdar Khan Bahadur Padamji Pestonji,(195) [of Poona] was one of the best shots in India, [and was, at one time, the "champion" shot of the Bombay Presidency.] (196)

[During the Great World War of 1914 *et seq.*, several Parsis availed themselves of the opportunity to render their services to the British, and have gone to the front in Europe, Mesopotamia etc., in various capacities. One of them has been reported to have had the honour of being allowed to join a British regiment. Color-Sergeant R. A. Neemuchwalla, of the Poona Volunteer Rifles, was enlisted in the 5th Royal Dublin Fusiliers. He too has been a brilliant marksman, and distinguished himself at the Bisley meeting in 1914. He is a citizen of Poona.] (197)

The enrolment of the Parsis as Volunteers, to the exclusion of the other nationalities, has re-appeared since the publication of the work of Mr D. F. Karaka. At Quetta, Karachi, and Poona, the Parsis have been ad-

194. [Sirdar Dorabji Padamji died in Poona, in 1901, his native town in the Bombay Presidency. For his life-sketch, in detail, see the *Zoroastrian Calendar*, for 1272 A.Y., (September 1902 to September 1903).—M.M.M.]

195. Sirdar Padamji Pestanji was the chief of the Parsi community of Poona. He obtained, as a reward for his services, the title of *Khán Báhádur*. He was a member of the Legislative Council (of the Bombay Government) and had the rank of a *Sirdar* of the First Class in the Dekkan. [So was his eldest son, the late Sirdar Dorabji and after him his brother Sirdar Naoroji, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council.—M.M.M.]

196. [This has been added here by me.—M.M.M.]

197. [Information placed here by me. See the *Rast Goftar*, (a weekly newspaper of Bombay), of 1st August 1915.—M.M.M.]

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The *Times* Press, Bombay.

Khan Bahadur Pestanji Sorabji.

He and his son Pudumji were awarded a Gold Medal and the title of Khan Bahadur, for services rendered to their Sovereign during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58.

(Died on 24th Dec. 1861, at the age of 71.)

Sirdar Khan Bahadur Pudumji Pestonji.

A First-Class 'Sirdar' of the Deccan: Member of the Legislative Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in 1874-76: President of the Poona City Municipality: Fellow of the University of Bombay.

(Born in 1820: died on 20th July 1894 A. D.)

(Photo. in 1866.)

Founders of the Pudumji Family of Poona.

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Sirdar Khan Bahadur Dorabji Pudumji.

He was a First-Class 'Sirdar' of the Deccan: Member of the Legislative Council of H. E. the Governor of Bombay, for the years 1893 to 1898 A.D. For seventeen consecutive years, President of the Poona City Municipality. Winner of, the Western India Rifle Association Championship Gold Medal in 1877: of H. E the Governor's Cup for Rifle-shooting in 1879: H. E. the Viceroy's Championship Cup of the W. I. Rifle Association in 1882: and of nine cups and twelve medals for Rifle-shooting, including one from the Rifle Association of the United Kingdom. He was the *first* Parsi winner of a Silver Cup and Album from the Amateur Photographic Society of London, in 1866.

(Born on 24th Dec. 1838: died on 11th July 1902.)

Sirdar Naoroji Pudumji, C. I. E.

A First Class 'Sirdar' of the Deccan, and a 'Companion of the Indian Empire,' Member of the Legislative Council of H. E. the Governor of Bombay, for the years 1907-8, and President of the Poona City Municipality for the years 1907 to 1915.

(Born on 26th Aug 1841.)

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mitted freely into the corps of the European Volunteers, and lastly (in June, 1894) Mr Dinshah Dosabhai Khambatta was enrolled as a lieutenant in the "Poona Volunteers." [Twelve years later he was promoted as a Captain, and then a Major. He was specially deputed to England to attend the coronation of His Majesty King-Emperor George V, in 1911, he being the only Parsi officer in a group of 62 British officers, each representing a Corps in British India and Burmah. When, after an extension of three years' service, he retired, in 1913, owing to age,—as, under the rules, no one could command a Corps after he had attained his 55th year of age,—Government bestowed on him the rank of 'Lieutenant-Colonel,' which he has ever since continued to hold. He holds the following 'decorations': 'Long Service Medal,' 'Volunteer Officer's Decoration,' the 'Afghan War Medal (with clasp)' for 1878-79-80, the 'King's Coronation English Medal,' and the Golden Medallion for the title of 'Khan Bahadur.'] (198)

[In Poona, there is nothing like a separate Corps for Parsis. The orders of Government do not allow even class-companies to be formed, and the existing Parsi Volunteers, therefore, are distributed amongst companies in the several Corps, in India, into which Parsis are admitted. The principal among these are: The Baluchistan Volunteer Rifles, the Sind Volunteer Rifles, the Poona Volunteer Rifles, and the Allahabad Volunteer Rifles. Parsi volunteering has now been a plant of more than twenty-five years' growth. There were a few Parsi Volunteers somewhere about the middle of the last century in Bombay, (199) but their existence was

198. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

199. [Amongst the few Parsis, who, in 1861, joined as Volunteers, in Bombay, the name of Manekji Pestanji Tabák may be mentioned. In 1876, he was appointed Police Commissioner in the Gaekwad's territories. (See *Jame Jamshed* newspaper of 21st July 1909.)—M.M.M.]

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of an ephemeral nature, and, as two generations have passed since then, it is difficult now to inquire into the causes which gave them birth or brought about their end. Coming to more recent times, it was in Quetta that the auspicious beginning, of admitting Parsis into the Volunteer Corps there, was made in the early part of 1883, and this inestimable privilege was extended to other stations in India. The Baluchistan Volunteer Rifles may thus be justly called the cradle of Parsi Volunteering. There was a time when the Parsis formed thirty per cent. of the Corps,—the percentage has since dwindled down to nine, there not being more than fifteen Parsis in the Corps at one time. The admission of Parsis into Poona Volunteer Rifles has now become a matter of history. January the 30th, of 1890, saw them enrolled: and so they are over eighteen years in existence. They made a start with fifty-three, went up to nearly half the strength of the Corps in 1900-1901. Then they came down to less than a hundred, and the official year of 1905 closed with a total of over 107, and over 19 Cadets. The total strength of the Corps, including Europeans, Eurasians, [now designated 'Anglo-Indians'], and Jews, is over 362 of all ranks. One great good the Poona Volunteer Rifles has done to members of the Parsi community, is the special enrolment of *honorary* members, which has enabled them to keep arms, and, in the majority of cases, they have learnt to use them. There were, in 1908, nearly a hundred of them. The addition of Parsi Cadets at Poona, for the first time, formed a distinguishing feature of the year 1907. As to the Sind Volunteer Corps,—at the end of the official year 1894,—one-hundred and seventy Parsis were enrolled as Volunteers. Their numbers steadily increased till, at one time, it reached the figure of 259 in a total of 703, the strength of the battalion. In 1905 they numbered only 142, or, in other words, less than 36 per cent. of the Corps,

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Godrez Dorabji Pudumji, B. A., I. S. O.

While holding the permanent rank of Deputy Accountant-General, of the Imperial Financial Department of the Government of India, more than once he officiated as Accountant-General. He was the *first* Parsi to be nominated to this Department. No Indian, from the Bombay Presidency, was previously nominated. On his retirement on pension, he was a recipient of the distinction of 'Imperial Service Order' for long and meritorious services to the Sovereign.

Khan Bahadur
Bomanji Dorabji Pudumji.

Officer in charge of the Bullion Department of His Majesty's Mint in Bombay. "In recognition of long and meritorious service" he was awarded, in 1903, the title of 'Khan Bahadur' and an inscribed Certificate.

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Lieutenant Colonel D. D. Khambatta,
of the Poona Volunteer Rifles, and the 'doyen'
of Parsi Volunteers in India.

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1.—Parsis and Volunteering.

Lieutenant Behram H. J. Rustamji,
of the Sindh Volunteer Rifles.

Surgeon-Captain
K. D. Khambatta,
of the Poona Volunteer Rifles Ambulance Corps.

Colour-Sergeant R. H. Neemuchwalla,
of the 5th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers. (See p. 194, *ante*.) Winner of the Viceroy of India's Cup with a score of 333. Honorary Life-member of the very exclusive London and Middlesex Rifle Association.

Rustam J. J. Modi, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law. The first Member (enrolled in 1906) of the Honourable Artillery Company of London.

II.—Parsis and Volunteering.

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Group of Non-Commissioned Parsi Officers of the Poona Volunteer Rifle Corps.

They have been awarded 'Long-service Medals,' in 1911 A. D.

III.—Parsis and Volunteering.

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which itself has gone down, owing to the formation of a mounted section and an artillery and electrical engineering Company, which are confined to Europeans only. The Karachi Volunteer Rifles boasts of a splendid Company of Parsi Cadets. As to the Allahabad Volunteer Rifles, which had lately admitted Parsis, their number is very small. There are some Parsis in Railway Corps and other Rifles scattered over India, such as in Panchgani, Deolali, Ahmednagar, Nasick, Sholapore, Barsi Road Railway (station), Satara and Bombay.] (200)

[Mr Behram H. J. Rustomji, a partner in the late well-known Karachi and Bombay mercantile firm of H. J. Rustomji & Co. and Mr Jehangir H. Kothare, were enrolled as Lieutenants in the Karachi Volunteer Corps. At Quetta, Khan Bahadur B.D. Patel, C.I.E., was enrolled an Honorary Lieutenant. On the 16th of Sept. 1860, Mr Rustomji Kharshedji Cooper was admitted, in London, into the Queen's Westminster Volunteer Corps, for the purpose of being drilled. This Corps was started by the King's College of London. Mr Rustam Jivanji J. Modi, Barrister-at-Law, was the *first* and only Parsi and Indian member of the Hon'ble Artillery Company of London.] (201)

The most serious consideration which prevents a Parsi from enrolling himself in the army seems to us

200. [I have summarized here what Lieut.-Colonel Dinshah D. Khambatta, the *doyen* of the Parsi Volunteers, says in the *Sánj Vartmán*, (an Anglo-Gujarati daily evening newspaper of Bombay), of 12th September 1905. For a series of contributions, (with photographs), on the subject of "Parsis as Volunteers," see *The Parsi* journal, vol. II of 1906.—M.M.M.]

201. [Information inserted by me. It may be added here that, during the late Boer War, a young Parsi gentleman, Mr Jehangir Dorabji Gháswálá, was enlisted as a private in the European 2nd Battallion of the South African Light Horse, and was promoted to a Corporal's position. He was shot through both his knees in the battle of Colenso, on the 15th of November 1899. He subsequently succumbed to his wounds.—M. M. M.]

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to be the insufficiency of emolument. We only repeat it: it is a Parsi who says this. We have no desire either to weaken their motives or to exaggerate their grievances. We are well aware that these are very delicate questions, and require to be treated with care and tact, since they concern the relations between dévoted subjects and a government of which they are proud. On the other hand, when we take into consideration the moral worth and intelligent co-operation which the Parsis bring to the service of this same government, we are not at all surprised at the conclusion which we see so clearly formulated.[202]

Indian soldiers, whether Hindoos or Mussulmans, are paid at the rate of seven rupees a month, about fourteen shillings (17 fr. 50 c.), including rations: while a Parsi, filling the most modest employment of a cook or a servant, earns double that sum. During certain disturbances, when Bombay was deprived of its European troops, many Parsis would willingly have enrolled themselves in the army if they had been given the pay of European soldiers. It is a matter of regret to them, perhaps a sort of degradation of which they feel the keenness, at being obliged to put forward pecuniary considerations first; but their mode of life, even that of the poorest among them, cannot be compared with that of Hindoos and Mussalmans of the same class. These can live on seven rupees a month. Hindoos and Mahomedans of the same family are content with one room, a thing which the humblest Parsi would never allow. The Hindoo or Mussulman woman hardly requires more than one or two *sáris*, costing about three rupees, to clothe herself, and her children can

202. "We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the Parsis would be found to be as good and brave soldiers as the Anglo-Saxons, while their loyalty and attachment to the Government they are called upon to serve would always be above suspicion." (see D. F. Karaka's *History of the Parsis*, vol. i. ch. iii. p. 103.)

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go unclothed till the age of ten years. But, as for the Parsi woman she requires several *sàris*, trousers, shirts, and slippers, besides suitable clothing for her children. How can a Parsi soldier then manage to live and bring up his family on seven rupees a month ?

Mr Karaka ends his long and eloquent appeal with a sentence which furnishes the true keynote of the regret felt by the Parsis at being merely compared with the natives of India while feeling themselves to be morally and intellectually their superiors. Why are they not provided with commissions in the army like the Germans and other Europeans ? [203] Then only will they feel completely identified with the British nation.

Opinions are divided amongst the Parsis themselves on the subject of their nationality and position in India. The Hon'ble Sir P. M. Mehta considered them as "natives to the back-bone." Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., [who, in 1916, received the high distinction of a 'Doctor of Laws and Literature' of the University of Bombay], is of the same opinion, whilst a certain number decline to recognize this.[204]

203. "For, if a German or a European of another nationality can secure a commission in the British Army, why should not a Parsi who is the born subject of the Queen-Empress ?" (See D.F. Karaka's *History of the Parsis*, vol. i, ch. iii. p. 104.)

204. [The unbracketed portions of this para. appear as a footnote in the French edition.—M.M.M.]

[Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., in his "*India : Its Administration and Progress*," (published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1st ed., 1888 ; 3rd ed., 1903),—in describing the Races, Languages, Castes, Religions, and Superstitions of the Indian peoples, in Ch. XVII, pp. 282, *et seq.*, makes, on p. 313, the following observations : "The Parsis form a very small but highly respectable community, devoted for the most part to mercantile pursuits. Their enterprise as traders, and their freedom from prejudices of caste, take them into all parts of India, but the great majority of them are found in Bombay. They have gained for themselves, by their character, their superior education, and their

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The Parsis in India are divided into two sects [or, rather, schisms], the *Shâhânshâhi* and the *Kadmi*.(205) At the period when Anquetil Duperron visited India

wealth, a somewhat exceptional position, but they have so little in common with anything Indian, and their numbers are so small, that they can only be mentioned as an interesting group of foreigners, who, for many centuries, have retained their ancient creed, and have kept themselves apart from the people of all Indian countries."

The London *Times*, in July 1905, wrote as follows:—"Amongst people who have little acquaintance with India it seems to be believed that the Parsi is of the same class as the Hindus and Mahomedans forming the great majority of the population of the continent. It would be about equally true to assert that a Hungarian gipsy represented the nations and races of Europe. . . . Whether from necessity or inclination, the Parsi of the 20th century is almost as much a foreigner to the great mass of the Indian population as was his predecessor of the eighth. He is separated from it by a line of demarcation far sharper than that which divides the Aryan from the aboriginal, or even the Mahomedan from the Hindu. His ties to it are merely such as are based on long residence, association, and a common Asiatic origin."—M.M.M.]

205. The term *Shâhânshâhi* means 'imperial,' and the term *Kadmi* is drawn from *qadim* 'ancient.' The Shahanshahis are also called *Rasmis*, from *Rasm*, 'custom,' that is to say 'that which is followed' in India.

[Ervad S. D. Bharucha, in a Gujarati paper, dated the 23rd of October 1905, and in which he advocates the month 'Dae' or 'De' as the first, and 'Adar' as the last month of the *Fasali* year, (*i.e.*, the year advocated by K. R. Cama and his colleagues in accord with the subject of making a *kabiseh*), explains the origin of the terms. 'Shenshahi' and 'Kadmi,' at present in use. To summarize what he says: Those Parsis in India, who being convinced by Jamasp and Jamshed Vilayeti's teaching in Surat, that the mode of reckoning, then current in Persia, was correct, became their followers, and called themselves 'Kadimi,' (later on corrupted into 'Kadmi'), *i.e.*, followers of the 'ancient' reckoning. On the other hand, in Surat, the main bulk of the Parsis stuck to the 'custom' that obtained in India, of calculating their Parsi years, and of observing the New Year's day one month after the Kadmi New Year's day; and they were, therefore, called 'Rasmi' (=following the 'rasam' or 'custom'), and being

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this division already existed, and he found them, " more excited against each other than the Mahomedan sects of Omar and Ali." The Parsis, however, do not admit that this was the case. This division has nothing to do with their faith, and has nothing in common with the division between the Shiáhs and the Sunnis. This [harmless] schism [still continues and][206] has arisen simply out of a difference of opinion concerning the exact date of computation of the era of Yezdezard, the last king of the ancient Persian monarchy. This division does not

in the city (=Persian: 'sheher') of Surat, they came to be called 'Sheher-sahi,' that is, 'followers of the custom of the city.' Later on, as the Parsis of India began to admix the Hindu-Gujarati with Persian words, the expression 'Shehenshai' was gradually substituted for 'Sheher-sahi,' the former expression coming to be understood in the sense of 'coming from the times of old Iranian kings. I may here draw attention to the words 'Sher-Soy' which Maneckji Kharshedji Shroff uses in his letters to the *Bombay Times*, in 1844-45, over the annonym of "Q, in the Corner," in regard to the Bombay Parsi Panchayat affairs. This use of the words 'Sher-Soy' shows that in or about the years 1844-45, the term 'Shehenshai' had not come into use, but the term 'Sheher-sái' was in vogue, the words 'Sher-Soy' being a somewhat Anglicised mode in which Mr Manekji has spelt them, 'Soy' corresponding to the word 'sàhi' as given by S. D. Bharucha. See, also, footnote 219, *post*.—M.M.M.]

206. On this schism, see Anquetil Duperron: *Zend-Avesta*. (*Disc. Prel*) p. ccccxxvi.; Wilson: *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 35, 36; Haug: *Essays*, pp. 57, 58. Aspandiarji Kamdin resumed the controversy of the *Kabisa* in a book which appeared in Surat, in 1826; *A Historical Account of the Ancient Leap-Year of the Parsis* (Gujerati). [Dr J. Gerson da Cunha's *Origin of Bombay*, p. 300: Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 85, ed. 1884]. Mr K. R. Cama held, in 1869, a series of conferences on the ancient computation of time, and published *The Era of Yezdezard* (in Gujarati).

[As to how the " Intercalation controversy provides a powerful incentive to the study of the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures," see Dastur Dr Dhalla's ch. xxxvii, (p. 319), in his *Zoroastrian Theology*. Duperron also gives a lengthy account, for which see footnote 209, *post*, as given in the French text of *Les Parsis*.—M.M.M.]

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exist amongst the Zoroastrians who have remained behind in their own native country,—Persia.

The Parsis reckon their year on the basis of three hundred and sixty-five days, each of their month consisting of thirty days.(207) Their year commences with the month of *Farvardin*, and ends with the month of *Spendarmad*. At the end of three hundred and sixty days, five days, called the *Gàthà*, are added. The period of five hours and fifty-four seconds does not enter into their computation. The old Persians, therefore, in order to make their calculation agree with the solar year, had made, [it is said], at the end of every hundred and twenty

207. [Dr E. W. West, in his Introduction to vol. XLVII, p. xliv of the Sacred Books of the East series, opines: "the most probable dates of the establishment of the Parsi calendar is...B. C. 505, with a margin of four to eight years in either direction for *accidental* errors of observation."

For *Mediæval Greek References to the Avestan Calendar*, see the Paper,—contributed by Professor Louis H. Gray, of the University of Columbia,—in Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana *in memoriam* Volume entitled "Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies": (1904).

Haug, in his *Essays on the Parsis*, (2nd ed., p. 57), says: "The Indian Parsis determined to adopt the Persian Calendar which they did on the 17th of June 1745, corresponding to the 29th day of the 9th month of Anno Yazdezardi 1114 of the Persian reckoning...."

Dr Moulton, in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, (p. 431), opines that the Parsi Calendar is traced, on strong evidence, to Darius, and that the present names of the months therein bear very strong marks of his hand. On p. 431 (*op. cit.*), he says: "The fixing of the year at 365 days, and the adoption of the Avestan Calendar, M. Drouin dates in the middle of the fifth century. He [Drouin] says: "We should not be far from the truth if we put the introduction of the Persian Calendar into Asia Minor about the year 400 B.C." (This date.....Professor Cumont takes over).....We may take it as proved that a 365 days year was established in Iran about 505 B.C., and therefore in the reign of Darius I. But the year which has been used among the Parsis, since the Sassanian era at least, is one of 365 days, and there is a presumption in favour of identifying them." (p. 432.)—M.M.M.]

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years, an intercalation, or *Kabisa*,[208] that is to say, they added one month to that period. The Persian Zoroastrians, after the loss of their independence, either through ignorance or simple forgetfulness, had neglected this *Kabisa* [intercalary month], whilst the Parsis had continued this intercalation during their residence in Khorâssân (in Persia). Hence the origin of the sects with which we have to deal.[209]

In 1720 A. D. Jamasp Vilâyati, a learned Zoroastrian from Persia, settled in Surat to instruct the mobeds [Parsi priests], and it was he who discovered that his co-religionists of India were one month behind their brethren in Iran. Little importance, however, was attached to this fact. But, in 1746, another Iranian,—

208. [*Kabiseh*: For "Two Persian passages about the *Kabiseh* (Intercalation)," occurring in a manuscript written by Dastur Rustam Gustasp Ardesir in the Yezdezerdi year 1087: and another passage from a dictionary called *Bahar-ul-Fazâyel*, written in the Yezdezerdi year 764, see Paper contributed by Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwala in *Cama Memorial Volume*, at p. 235.—M.M.M.]

209. This is how Anquetil Duperron [in 1771 A.D] relates the incidents of this memorable struggle. (Disc. Prel., pp. ccoxxvi. *et seq.*)* "About forty-six years ago, there came from Kirman a very clever Dastoor named Djamasp. He had been sent to re-unite the Parsis divided on the question of the *Penom*, [*padân*], a double piece of cloth with which the Parsis, on certain occasions, cover a part of the face. Some wished that it should be placed on the dead, others did not like this. Djamasp decided in favour of the latter, according to the custom of Kirman. If this Dastoor had not made the voyage to India, this frivolous contest would not have caused streams of blood to flow.

"Djamasp is believed to have examined the *Vendidad* which was current in Gujarat. He found the Pehlvi translation of it too long and not correct in several places. Ignorance was the predominating vice of the Parsis of India. In order to remedy it, the Dastoor of

* [Ervad Kawasji Edulji Kanga, a student of ancient languages, wrote to me, a little before his regrettable death, that he had, in 1876, translated, into Gujarati, a portion of Anquetil Duperron's work.—M.M.M.]

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Jamshed,—and some mobeds adopted the date accepted by the Persian Zoroastrians, and assumed the appellative of *Kadmi*. The rest of the community were called

Kirman gathered some disciples: Darab at Surat, Djamasp at Naosari, and a third at Bharooch, to whom he taught Zend and Pehlvi. Some time after, tired of the contradictions which he had to endure, he returned to Kirman. The books, which this Dastoor has left in India, are an exact copy of the Zend and Pehlvi *Vendidad*, the *Feroueshi*, the translation of the *Vajerquerd* and the *Nerengestan*. These two works are in Persian, mixed with Zend, and purely on ceremonials.

"Darab, the first disciple of Djamasp, and a Dastoor Mobed perfect in the knowledge of Zend and Pehlvi, wished to correct the Pehlvi translation of the *Vendidad*, and rectify some portions of the Zend text, which appeared to him either to have been transposed or to present useless repetitions. He began explaining to young Parsi theologians the works of Zoroaster, which the Mobeds read every day without understanding them. An enslaved people, who for a long time practised a thousand ceremonies, the sense and reason of which they were ignorant of, would naturally fall into innumerable abuses. This was what Darab, more learned than the others, observed. The purifications were multiplied; the Zend text was inundated with Pehlvi commentaries, often very inconsistent. Darab at first attempted the way of instruction. But he found a powerful adversary in the person of Mancherji, the chief of the party who did not like reform, and himself the son of a Mobed.

"Another subject of division animated them again, one against the other. Darab had for his father Kaous, of whom I have spoken before, who had received from Dastoor Jamasp the first smatterings of astronomy, according to the principles of Oulough Beg. This Dastoor Mobed having been perfected since then under another Parsi, come from Kirman about thirty-six years ago, showed by the Tables of Oulough Beg that the *Nao-Roz* (the first day of the year) ought to be advanced by a month, and that consequently there had been an error till then. A letter of the Dastoors of Yezd, dated the 22nd of the month Aban, of the year 1111 of Yezdezard (1742 A.D.), and brought by the Parsi Espendiar, confirmed the discovery of Kaous, but did not tend to protect him from the hatred of his compatriots. It went so far, that Darab, sixteen or seventeen years ago, was obliged to withdraw to Damaun amongst the Portuguese, and Kaous to Cambay among the English. When I arrived at Surat almost all the

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Shàhànshàhi, and clung to the old system of computing the years. Little by little, the number of the adherents of Jamshed increased. Now, it should be noticed that it was in Surat that this schism among the Parsis first took place.[210] For some time, the harmonious relations between the two did not suffer by it. But two respectable men, Mancherji Kharshedji Seth, of the Shahanshahi sect, and Dhanjishà Manjishà, of the Kadmi sect, managed literally to ignite the powder, in spite of their benevolent intentions. In order to get some enlightenment, Dhanjishà Manjishà sent, from Bharooch to Persia, at his own expense, one Kávûs Rustam Jalàl. Born at Bharooch in 1733, this man was well versed in the Arabic and Persian languages. For twelve years he remained in Persia and Turkey, visited Yezd, Ispahan, Shiraz, and Constantinople, returning to Surat in 1780. During his sojourn in Persia, he had obtained an audience with Karim Khan. Some months before his return, Dhanjishà Manjishà had come to Bombay, and had there founded the Kadmi sect under the auspices of Dadiseth, one of the most influential men of the time.[211] Mulla Kavûs

Parsis of India followed the party of Mancherji, because he was rich and powerful. Darab, whose knowledge was recognized even by his adversaries, had some disciples, who, in the sequel, showed themselves more freely when the authority of Mancherji had been lowered at Surat with that of the Dutch, whose agent he was."

210. [I find it recorded in the *Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, that, in Surat, on the 6th of June 1745, some poor *behdins* (='laymen') became *Kadmi*. This is the first instance, so far as Surat is concerned. One Maneckji Edalji, bearing the surname of 'Aramni Dalal,' (meaning broker to the Armenian merchants of Surat), was the *first* Parsi to become a Kadmi in the whole of India. He built and consecrated a *Daremeher* in Chowki Moholla (street) of the Nanpurà division of the city of Surat.—M.M.M.]

211. [In 1780 A.D., Seth Dadibhai Nosharwanji had commenced, in Bombay, to observe the new system of calculating the date of the Parsi New Year. It is related of his son Ardesir Dadibhai, that,

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followed his patron to Bombay and was appointed Dastoor of the Atash-Behram erected by Dadiseth (Dadibhai Nasarwanji) himself, for the Kadmi sect, which he consecrated on the 29th of September 1783. The following year he quitted Bombay, and settled in Hyderabad, in the Deccan, where he was honoured with the friendship of the Nizam. He remained there till his death, which took place in 1802. (See *Pàrsi Prakàsh*, vol.I,p.92).

The Kadmi sect continued to flourish, in Bombay, until, at the commencement of the century, arose the great controversy of the *Kabisa*, that is to say, of the famous one month by which the Kadmis were in advance of the Shâhânshâhis. (*Pàrsi Prakàsh*, vol. I, pp. 62, 198, 863, 867, etc.) Mulla Firoz, [212] son of Mulla Kàvûs, and

on the day of his death, (on the 29th of June, 1810), the then Governor Jonathan Duncan, was present at the Cathedral when the obsequies were being performed, and had the Cathedral bell toll the Funeral Dirge when the cortège was passing the street. Jonathan Duncan was Governor of Bombay from 1795 to 1811 A.D. He died in Bombay on 12th August 1811.—M.M.M.]

212. Mulla Firoz succeeded his father Mulla Kavus as Dastur of the Kadmis (1802.) When hardly eight years old he accompanied Mulla Kavus to Persia and learnt Persian and Arabic. In 1786, he wrote, in Persian, a curious recital of his voyage, *Derich Kherde Manjumi*. In 1830 he published the *Avijeh Din* to refute the arguments of Dastoor Edulji Darabji Sanjana. The then governor of Bombay, Mr Jonathan Duncan, engaged him to teach him Persian and to translate the *Desatir**. Mr Duncan having died (in 1811) Mulla Firoz continued his work in concert with Mr William Erskine, and finished it in 1819. He died in 1830, (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 229), and bequeathed his collection of books in Zend, Pehlvi etc., to the Kadmi community. The library which contains them is situate in the Fort (Bombay), and bears his name. We owe to Mulla Firoz a poem, (on the conquest of India by the English), the *George Nâmah*, which was terminated and published in 1837 by his nephew and successor, Dastoor Rastamji Kaikobadji. On the death of the

* [The *Desatir* : For this book, see my Supplementary Chapter on "Religious Literature," *post*.—M.M.M.]

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another distinguished priest, Fardunji Murzbanji,[213] constituted themselves the champions of the Kadmi sect, while the mass of the people, guided by Kharshedji Maneckji Shroff, ranged themselves under the patronage of the pious Dastoor of the Shahanshahis, Edulji Darabji Sanjànà,[214] and clung to the date observed by the Parsis since their arrival in India. Meetings were organized, to which learned Moguls were invited, in order to offer explanations, and, if possible, to terminate the dispute. The newspapers were full of virulent articles; pamphlets appeared in great numbers; and the people, in some cases, seemed disposed to settle the question by the right of might,—an irrefutable argument.

The Shàhànshàhis maintained that the Zoroastrian religion admitted a month's intercalation at the end of every 120 years, and that, at the time of the fall of the Persian Empire, there had indeed been *one* intercalation

latter in 1854, (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 635), the Kadmis combined to found a *Madressa* (=Seminary) named after *Mulla Firoz*. (*Parsi Prakash*, vol. I, p. 647). [In this *Madressa* Zend and Pahlavi are taught. It has turned out several Parsi Avesta scholars.—M.M.M.]

213. [Two books containing his life have been published: one under the pseudonym of "Minocheher Khurshed", in 1896, and another by his grandson, Kaikobad Beheramji Murzban, B.A., in 1898. Both are in Gujarati. See my "Introduction" to the "*Life of Khan Bahadur Muncherji C. Murzban, C.I.E.*," published by me in 1915, with the sanction of the Government of Bombay in its Public Works Department. In this Introduction I have given, in English, a brief history of Fardunji's life and life-work. It has been reproduced by me in a later chapter herein. A list of his contributions to literature will be given also in a later chapter.—M.M.M.]

214. Edalji Darabji Sanjana was esteemed for his piety and merits. He was, in his time, one of the first *savants* in Zend and Pahlavi. He was equally perfect in Sanscrit. We owe to him several works on the Mazdien religion, amongst others, a book entitled *Khorehe Vehijak* which brought forth in reply the *Avijeh Din* of Mulla Firoz. He died in 1847. (*Pàrsi Prakàsh*, vol. I, p. 495.)

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during their sojourn in Khoràssàn, but that, once they were in India, this usage had been abandoned; hence the backwardness by one month from the computation of the Kadmis. The latter declared, on the other hand, that the intercalation was forbidden in the Zoroastrian calendar; that, it was only meant for political exigencies, and that this mode of calculation had never been practised in Khoràssàn.

[In *Cama Memorial Volume*, — published, in English, in honour of the occasion of Mr Khurshedji Rustomji Cama's seventieth birthday, (in 1900 A. D. =1270 A. Y.), and in which, essays on Iranian and other cognate subjects have been contributed by various scholars,—Khan Bahadur Bomanji Beheramji Patel contributes an Essay entitled "*A brief out-line of some controversial questions that led to the advancement of the study of religious literature among the Parsis.*" From this Essay the following has been selected (from pages 175 to 181) containing a lucid and succinct history and account of the *Kabiseh* controversy:

"On the 26th of November 1720, a mobed named Jàmàsp Velayeti, started from Persia for Surat. On his arrival, he found that there was a difference of one month between the Persian and the Indian Zoroastrians in the matter of their *Roz-Màh* (*i.e.*, day and month) reckoning (calender). At first, he hesitated to show this difference to the Parsis, of India, because he found that during the discussion of the two controversies mentioned above, the opposing parties had grown somewhat fanatic. At this time, he had opportunities to observe the general ignorance which prevailed among them as regards religious forms and ceremonies. He therefore took three intelligent priests under his pupilage: (1) Dastur Darab (Kumànà Dàdà dàru) from Surat, (2) Dastur Jamasp (Jàmàsp Asà) of Naosari, and (3)

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a dastur of Broach, (very likely Dastur Kamdinji's father, Dastur Fardunji). He taught them the *Avesta* and its Pahlavi commentaries. In the same year,—at the instance of Jamasp,—Manekji Edalji, the Armenian broker of Surat, began to use the *Kadmi*, *i.e.*, the Persian calendary. Upon this, a great dispute arose as regards the Parsi calendary. In 1736, a behdin named Jamshid, who was conversant with a little of astronomical science, came from Persia to Surat, and the dispute took a more serious aspect. The Parsis requested him to solve, by means of astronomical calculations, the doubts which had arisen in their mind after Jamasp's advent to India. He taught astronomical calculations [='*najum*'] to an intelligent Mobed named Kaus Faridun, who was afterwards called *Munajjem*, (*i.e.* versed in the science of the stars), because he made astronomical calculations and declared that Jamasp was correct.[215] In 1740, Jamshid came to Bombay, but he could not enlist himself in the good graces of the Bombay Parsis. (This event was referred to in a letter from a priest Sheriar Nowroji, of Bombay, to Desai Kharsetji Temulji of Nowsari, dated 11th November 1740, saying: "Jamshed Irani has now come from Surat to Bombay. He induces the Parsis and hopes to gain them over.) Five years after, on the 6th of June 1745, a few poor *behdins* of Surat, Bahman Limno, Ranji-no Khurshed, Behram Dada, Popatji-no-Rustam, Lallai-no-Sohrab and others became Kadmis, and from this year they commenced to perform the *Muktád* [analogous to the 'All Souls' Day'] ceremonies one month earlier. At this juncture, a few Parsis, who were inclined to Kadimi-ism, openly avowed their belief in the new calendar. From this time, the

215. [As to Kaus Munajjam starting the *Kabiseh* controversy, see pp. 12, *et. seq.* of Kaekobad Beheramji Marzban's *Life of Furdunji Murzbanji*, (in Gujarati).—M.M.M.]

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Parsis became very anxious to acquire religious knowledge, and instituted researches on the subject. Dhanjishà Manjishà, a leading Parsi of Surat, who was inclined to the Kadmi doctrines, sent for Mobed Kaus Rustam Jalal from Broach, and sent him to Persia to institute inquiries on this much-disputed question. Kaus proceeded to Persia on the 28th of April 1768, with his son Peshutan, afterwards named Feroz, (the well-known Dastur Mulla Feroz). He stayed there for twelve years, and made all possible endeavours to sift the truth. He travelled in the various provinces inhabited by Zoroastrians, and returned to Surat on the 9th of February 1780. He brought with him several Mss. and declarations (*mahzar*), copies of which found their way into the hands of intelligent members of the community. On the other hand, those (*i.e.*, the *Shahanshahi*) who followed the old method, brought forward evidence in favour of the calendar. Great discussions took place at Broach, and, at first, Dastur Kamdinji, and subsequently his descendants, discovered, from old works, several arguments in favour of the Shehenshahis. In 1783 A.D., an Atash-Behram was established in Bombay and consecrated, on the 29th of September, according to Kadmi rites. On this occasion a few Parsis of Bombay became Kadmi. In this manner, this controversy led some of the Parsis of Bombay, Surat, and Broach to renew their efforts to acquire a knowledge of their religion and history. In July 1828, Dastur Aspandyarji Kamdinji of Broach published, at Surat, a Gujarati work, containing a historical account of the ancient leap-year of the Parsis. [It is] named '*Kadim Tarikh Parseo-ni-Kasar, i.e., Kabisàni Hakikat* (='A historical account of the ancient Leap-Year of the Parsis.') He has proved therein [or, rather, attempted to prove] that the intercalation (*Kabisah*) was used in the ancient *religious* year of the Zoroastrians. When the book was read in Bombay, the controversy revived after a lapse

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Dastur Mulla Firuz *bin* Kaus.

The head dress he wears was the first of its kind introduced by him as a distinctive head-gear for a Kadmi Dastur, and it was afterwards adopted by other Kadmi Parsis.

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of forty years. To refute Dastur Aspandyarji's arguments, as regards the existence of intercalation, Mulla Firoz *bin* Kaus, on behalf of the Kadmis, commenced, on the 7th of August 1826, writing a series of letters in the *Bombay Samàchàr*. A week after, *i. e.*, on 16th August 1826, Dastur Aspandyarji died at Broach, and Dastur Kausji the eldest son of Dastur Aspandyarji, carried on the controversy. The size of the *Samàchàr* had to be doubled on account of the correspondence on this controversy. Dastur Fardunji Darabji Jamasp-Asana, who was Dastur Aspandyarji's supporter in Bombay, established another newspaper, named *Akhbàre-Kabisah*, for carrying on the controversy on behalf of the Shehenshahis. The *Ebtal-e-Kabisah* was started by the Kadmis, for a time, for disputing the arguments of the *Akhbar-e-Kabisah*. The *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette* teemed with correspondence on the same subject. Thereafter the Shehenshahis and the Kadmis formed committees, of their own leaders, for the regular discussion of this question. Both committees met privately, to frame arguments against their opponents. They sometimes invited learned Moguls and other literary men of Bombay to take part in the discussion. Haji Hasham Ispahani took side with the Shehenshahis, and Aga Mahomed Shustari helped the Kadmis. The whole Parsi community was very anxious to continue the discussion and to help the study of the different aspects of the controversy so as to come to a definite conclusion. The controversy was put a stop to in the newspapers after a year and a half: but both parties continued to issue books and leaflets in favour of their contentions. The Kadmis asked the learned Zoroastrians and Mahomedans of Persia to elucidate the truth in this matter. Moreover, Dastur Mulla Feruz published, in 1826, a list of twenty-six old reliable works of Mahomedan authors, from which he could prove the consistency of his contention. Thereupon, the Shehenshahis produced

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further arguments from the religious literature, and searched for the works of Mahomedan authors to deduce arguments in their own favour. The first polemic, after Dastur Aspandyarji's famous work, was Haji Hasham Ispahani's *Shawahed-ul-nafisehfi Asbat-ul-Kabisah*, published in 1827. It was rendered into Gujarati by Ervad Dosabhai Sorabji Munshi, in 1828. In reply, Mulla Feruz published, in the same year, the *Adle Kavieh*,—or arguments to prove the non-existence of intercalation,—which was translated into Gujarati by mobed Fardunji Murzbanji in the same year. Haji Hasham Ispahani then published the *Dafa-ul-hazal* in response to Mulla Feruz's statement. This book also was translated into Gujarati by Dosabhai Sorabji Munshi, and published in 1836. Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana published, (in 1828), his *Khoreh-Vahijak*, (*i.e.*, 'the glory of intercalation'), being a collection of arguments deduced from Avesta, Pahlavi, and Pazand works. Mulla Feruz prepared the *Avizeh-Din*, as retort, which was published in 1832 after his death. In 1828, Mulla Feruz also published his *Resalah -e-Estashahad*, containing evidences on the non-existence of intercalation in the pure religion of Zoroaster. The Shehenshàhi committee, in 1833, published a collection of declarations (*Mehzars*) they had received from Ispahan in favour of intercalation, with their Gujarati translations prepared by Ervad Dosabhai Sorabji Munshi and Dastur Fardunji Darabji Jamasp Asa. The work is named '*Gavah-ul-Kabisah*'. Many other books and pamphlets were published at the time, but we find no trace of them now. The Shehenshàhi committee spent about Rs. Forty Thousand, and it cost the Kadmis as much. During the discussion, a few more Parsis became Kadmis in Bombay. According to the census of 1891, out of the population of 91,361 in the Bombay Presidency only 7,208 are Kadmi, the rest are Shehenshahi."][216].

216. [This information, about the *Kabiseh* controversy, has been added here by me. Ervad S. D. Bharucha, in his Paper entitled

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Modern learning has brought this vexed question, of the *Kabiseh*, within its true limits. In 1870, Mr Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, of the Kadmi sect, known by his study of the Zoroastrian religion,[217] proved, [or rather has

"Brief Notes on certain passages of the Avesta," in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, (1914), says on p. 207: "The Kadmi sect of the modern Parsis recognizes the religious year consisting of 365 days only. But from what we have shown above,.....as regards the meanings, etymology, etc., of the six Gahambars, it is clear that our religious year is the year of natural seasons. And, since the seasons of nature recur infallibly in the complete year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, it is absolutely necessary that the arrear of the remaining six hours of the complete year must inevitably be intercalated at some suitable time. Their denial, therefore, of this intercalation of the remaining six hours of the complete year is untenable. The Shehenshahi sect of the modern Parsis, though recognizing the necessity of intercalating the arrear of the six hours, in the complete year at some suitable occasion, holds that it should be made in the form of a month of thirty days at the lapse of 120 years. But this mode of intercalation is fraught with inconvenience and disadvantages. For, in that long period of 120 years the fixed seasonal as well as other festivals and occasions could not be observed at their appropriate or even approximate fixed seasonal times. Moreover, we cannot also be sure of being free from natural, national, and other worldly calamities which may befall during that period, and make it impossible to intercalate the month at the end of this long interval of 120 years. As a matter of fact, we, Parsis, have had the bitter experience of this disadvantage, in that, since the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty, the ancestors of the Shehenshahi sect of the Parsis have been able to add the intercalary month only once, and, consequently, at present, our religious festivals fall at wrong times and seasons."—M.M.M.]

217. [Professor Darmsteter, in a lecture delivered by him, in Bombay, on the 3rd of February 1887, has called K. R. Cama "the providence of the Avesta scholars of Europe." The *Times of India*, (8th Sept., 1909), in reviewing "The progress of Parsis: A retrospect of the past year," says: "According to the new school of thought, the Parsis' Calendar, which has been in vogue since their advent in India several centuries ago, is defective, and, according to recent investigations based on a scientific calculation, their New Year should commence on the 21st of March,—the day on which the sun enters

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attempted to prove], in a work on the chronology of Yezdezard, that the Shàhànshàhis and the Kadmis were *both* in error. That, the Kadmis were wrong in denying that the Parsi New Year commenced on the 21st of March, for, from a more exact knowledge of the language of the *Avesta*, and the deciphering of Pahlavi coins, it is demonstrated that the Zoroastrian religion admitted the intercalation; and, that the Shahanshahis were equally wrong; for, since the downfall of the Persian Empire, there had been no intercalation as they affirmed. That, the view of the Kadmis, in accordance with the date accepted by the Zoroastrians of Persia,—which proves that there had been no intercalation after the fall of the national dynasty,—is absolutely correct; but that, as the intercalation was not ordered by the Zoroastrian religion, it appeared that *both* sides were wrong in the controversy of the *Kabisa*.[218]

The greatest disputes had arisen from this religious quarrel; and extraordinary scenes of violence resulted from

Aries. However well-reasoned the arguments, in favour of the re-adjustment of the Calendar, which the late Mr. K. R. Cama advocated with zeal and energy quite out of proportion to the cause, it must be several generations before the stronghold of orthodoxy can be captured and the generality of the people educated to accept the desired change. Meanwhile, according to the time-honoured traditions, the majority of the Parsis will celebrate their New Year on Monday next, a smaller sect, called Kadmis, having celebrated it a month ago."

In 1916, the last vestige of the bitterness of this controversy has been well-nigh on the eve of disappearance. To the *Kadmi* Atash-Beheram of Framji Kavasji Banaji, *Shàhànshàhi Dastoor* (high-priest) Kaekhusru J. Jamasp Asána has been appointed. This is an unique event in the history of the *Kabisah* schism. The suggestion was started by me in a Parsi news-paper.—M.M.M.]

218. [As already noted elsewhere, the literature, on the subject of calculating the first day of the New Year, according to the theory propounded by K. R. Cama and his followers, is collected in a brochure, of 93 pages, entitled '*Zarthostionà Roj-Màhne lagti sodh khol*:

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it. For instance, in Bharooch, (in 1782-1783), a certain Homaji Jamshedji [was charged with having] struck a pregnant woman and was therefore condemned to death. Other accused persons got off with mere fines. In the heat of the disputes, families became divided among them-

(='Discoveries and inquiries relating to the day-and-year of the Zoroastrians'). It contains a Report, prepared by a sub-committee, from arguments, &c., adduced before a Committee appointed for the purpose of preparing a new calendar (*Panchang*) for the Parsis, fixing a New Year's day, different to the one followed both by the Shehenshahi and the Kadmi sects. Mr K. R. Cama's powerful and life-long opponent was the late Mr Ardeshir Sorabji Dastur Kamdin, who published, among a large number of brochures, etc., a book, of 136 pages, (in 1899), pointing out errors in Mr Cama's arguments. The Book is entitled '*Jamshedi Noroz sambandhi Seth Kh. R. Camaji-na bhul bharelâ vicharo*' (='The erroneous views of Mr K. R. Cama regarding the Jamshedi Naoroz.')

In connection with the *Kabiseh* controversy, the following publications may be noted.

(1) In 1826: Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdin's *Kadim Tarekh Parseoni Kasar.*

(2) In 1826: Mulla Feruz *bin* Kaus's *Refutation* of the book called the *Khoreh Vahejak.*

(3) In 1827: Dosabhai Sorabji Moonshee's *Shavahe Dol Nafishefi Ash-batol Kabiseh.*

(4) In 1828: Fardunji Murzbanji's *Collection of various contributions to the Kabiseh controversy.* Also, his Gujarati translation of the Persian book, *Resâle Esohâd*, of Mulla Feruz.

(5) In 1828: Dastur Mulla Feruz's *Essay* on *Adle Kavye.*

(6) In 1828: Mulla Feruz's *Resale Eshte Shehâdat*; (Supplement in 1829).

(7) In 1832: Dosabhai Sorabji Moonshee's *Zarthoshti Din-ma Kabisa-ni Shahedi-ni-Ketâb.*

(8) In 1836: Dosabhai Sorabji Moonshee's *Dafe-ul-Hajal.*

(9) In 1850: Cowasji Sorabji Patel's *Rad Jawâb—Zarthoshit Sane Vishe:* (Refutation of arguments relating to the Zoroastrian year).

(10) In 1850: Naoroji Fardoonji's *Tarikhe Zarthoshti.*

(11) In 1875: Ratanji Rustomji Kanga's *Kabiseh.*

(12) In 1883: Ardeshar Sorabji Kamdin's *Jamshedi Naoroz.*

For a list, up to 1897 A. D., of Ardesir Sorabji Kamdin's books and pamphlets *in re* the *Kabiseh* controversy, see his Gujarati brochure entitled "21st of March: the sun, according to Hindu and Parsi mode."—M.M.M.]

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selves; marriages between Kadmis and Shahanshahis became very rare.[219]

[In his Paper entitled *A few Notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view*, read by Dr J. J. Modi on 15th March 1907, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the following very interesting note is made :—" It is said that the Parsees had, in more than one place, some hand, however small it may be, in the establishment of the British power in this [Bombay] Presidency. Now, in the case of Broach, the information has come to me as a surprise, that it was the religious dispute, which the Parsees had among themselves, in the 18th century, on the question of the *Kabiseh*, or the intercalary days, that had something to do, though indirectly, with the conquest of Broach by the British. The fact has been recorded, not by a Parsee author, but by a Mahomedan author, who was a favourite courtier of the Nawab of Broach." Dr Modi then traces the outlines of the history of Broach from a Parsee point of view, and of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs

219. Most offensive epithets were interchanged between *Kadmis* and *Shahanshahis*, such as that of churigar (*churi*, 'bracelets,' bangles : and *gar*, 'workman') a term of contempt, carrying with it an idea of weakness. The children of the two sects pursued one another in the streets, insulting one another. This was hardly [seventy] years ago.

[Briggs, in his "*Parsis* ; *or Modern Zardusthians*, (1852), says : "The individual of their [Parsi] community who proceeded to Persia to ascertain the occasion of this difference [of one month], happened to be of the profession of a *Churigar*, or bracelet-maker ; and, as he held the same view as the Zerdusthians in Persia, those in India partaking of the like impression were denominated *Churigariyân*, or *Kadmi*, form the era ; those retaining the original form of chronology current among them, comprising the major portion of the tribe, were, from contrast, called *Rasami* or 'customary,' and *Shahersahi*, signifying 'city-like,' or, ironically, as the 'black-faced.' Recently, it has been attempted to modify this last sobriquet into *Shahanshahi*, or 'king-of-kings,' from a municipal into an imperial character."—M.M.M.]

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in Broach. The last of these Nawabs was Mazad Khan (1768-72). It was between him and the British that a dispute arose. An account of this dispute is given in the *Gazetteer* (vol. II, p. 469). The dispute was over a claim of money, by the English, upon the Nawàb. A Mahomedan writer, Sayyad Abbas Ali, has written a short history (*Kisseh*) of this dispute, and of the subsequent battle between the English and the said Nawàb. A Gujarati translation of it was published in 1869 by mobed Byramji Furdoonji Vakil, of Broach. Only a very brief summary of the contents of this *Kisseh*, as given by Mr Modi in his Paper is as follows:—In the *Kabiseh* controversy the *Rasmis* (*i.e.*, the Shehenshahis) were headed by Mancherjee Kharshedjee Seth, and the Kadmis were under the following of Dhanjishaw Manjishaw. During that dispute Dhanjishaw wrote to the above named Nawab of Surat to inquire into the matter of the Kabiseh question under discussion. He wrote also to his own high-priest, Kaus Rustam Jallàl. The Nawab, therefore, sent for the two *akhuns* (*i.e.*, the preceptors) of the Parsis: one was Dastur Kamdinjee Furdunjee, of the Shehenshahi sect, and the other was Padshaw, a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. It was his sister, Behenbai,—a staunch Kadmi,—who is said to have been killed by the well-known Homaji. The Nawab asked these two priests to place before him correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin, after long consideration, intimated to the Nawab that what Muncherjee Kharsedjee Seth said was correct, and that, what Dhanjeeshaw Manjishaw said was wrong. The Nawab wrote accordingly to Dhunjeeshaw,—called 'Dhanjee' in an abbreviated form. According to the Mahomedan writer, Dhunjee is said to have been thereupon enraged at the Nawab for not having decided in favour of his (Kadmi) sect. This led to a grudge, it is said, against the Nawab, and Dhanjee has been charged with being on the look out to wreak his vengeance. Sometime after this incident,

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the Nawab stopped some of the goods of merchandise of Dhanjee at the Broach Customs Office, on the plea that Customs-duty was due on them. Dhanjee claimed exemption, but the goods were confiscated, and, to redeem them, he paid the dues. He then went to Mr Gambier, the head of the English factory at Surat, and informed him that the Custom-House of Broach was, from the first, under the control of the Port of Surat, that its income was about Rs. 100,000 per year, and that the Nawab had not been paying it to the Surat factory for the previous forty years. Mr Gambier, thereupon, claimed the sum of 40 lakhs from the Nawab. Eventually, it was settled that the Nawab should pay four lakhs of rupees by six monthly instalments within two years. The first instalment not having been paid within the fixed time, an expedition, headed by General Wedderburn, was sent to Broach. In the fight that ensued he was killed; but, in the end, Broach fell into the hands of the English, on 18th November 1772.] (220)

[As another instance of the state of feelings that raged during the *Kabiseh* controversy, it may be stated here that, in addition to a refusal, of the Kadmi and the Shehenshahi Parsis, to give and take children in marriage, one from the other, the names even of the illustrious dead were, as it were, 'boycotted' from the '*dhoop-sárná*' (or '*dhoop-nirang*') and '*Afringan*' ceremonies. The names of many such Kadmi Parsis were omitted by Shàhànshàhi priests and *vice versâ*, and this omission is still kept up.] (221)

At present, [1916 A.D.], most of the difficulties have been smoothed down. Now-a-days, it happens sometimes (222) that the husband and wife belong to different sects;

220. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

221. [See the *Rast Goftar*, newspaper, of 25th July 1909.—M.M.M.]

222. [This distinction is now altogether extinct.—M.M.M.]

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in that case the children [of the Kadmi and Shàhànshàhi parents] invariably belong to the father's sect. There are no appreciable differences [as to the points which distinguish a Shàhànshàhi from a Kadmi.] It is merely the pronunciation, [of certain words in some Parsi prayers], [223] that is at times not quite the same. Thus *Ahu* and *Vohu*, are pronounced *Ahi* and *Vohi*, among the Kadmis. There is also some difference in certain religious ceremonies, and in certain liturgical formulæ. But the greatest divergence is in the mention of the month and the day [224] of the month when the worshipper is reciting his prayers. All the feasts are observed by both the sects, but at different dates, [the Kadmis observing these feasts exactly thirty days earlier than the Shàhànshàhis do.] [225]

[The following principal differences, among other very minor ones, may be noted:—

(1) In the recitations composed in the Avesta language: *(a)* the long 'U' is pronounced by the Kadmi as long 'I,' *e.g.*, '*Ashem Vohu*' is pronounced '*Ashem Vuhi*:' (*b*) 'O' is pronounced as 'U,' *e.g.*, '*Vohu*', 'Vuhi:' (*c*) 'E' or 'Ae' is pronounced by the Kadmi 'I,' *e.g.*, '*Daeva*', 'Deva.' In short, the Kadmi system is more like the modern Persian *ma'aruf* sounds, while that of the Shàhànshàhi leans more towards *majhul* sounds: (*d*) sometimes the 'P' sound is pronounced by the Kadmi as 'F,' *e.g.*, '*Aipi*,' '*Afeh*.' But this is very rare.

223. [Notes inserted here by me. It was Framji Kavasji Banaji who, in Bombay, gave the *first* Kadmi Gahambár feast, on 22nd October 1805. The trustees of his Atash-Beheram inaugurated, in 1915, a gahambàr for Parsi women also, and it has become most popular.—M.M.M.]

224. [This is an error in the French edition. The *day* of the month is the same, both for the *Kadmi* and the *Shahanshahi* sects.—M.M.M.]

225. [Note placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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(2) In the Pàzend recitations, the differences are many:—(*a*) The Shàhànshàhi Parsi recites '*Hormuzd Khodai*', while the Kadmi Parsi recites '*Name-Yazad*:' (b) the prefaces and conclusion, of the *Nyaesh* and the *Yashts*, are altogether different in words in both systems, though very nearly similar in substance: (*c*) the preface of the *Afringàn*, among the Shahanshahi Parsis, contain a long list of the departed worthies, which it is not in the Kadmi system. These differences can be easily made out by comparing the printed sacred texts of the prayers of the Kadmi and the Shahanshahi Parsis.

(3) The marriage ceremony, among the larger portion of the Shahanshahi, is performed twice, once in the evening, and again at mid-night; while, that of the Kadmi, only once, *i.e.* in the evening. The Shàhànshàhi Parsi priests recite an *Ashirvàd* (in the Sanskrit language) in the marriage ceremony, but it is not recited among the Kadmi Parsis.

(4) There is much difference between the *Navjot* (sacred thread-investiture) ceremony of the Shahanshahi and of the Kadmi Parsis.

(5) The Kadmi *Nàmgharan*[226] joins the names of all the women with their fathers: whereas the Shahanshahis join the name of a married woman with that of her husband.

(6) On the whole, the ceremonies, recitations, observances, etc., among the Shahanshahi Parsis seem to be longer and more complicated than those among the Kadmi Parsis, which are generally curtailed, short, and simple.] [227]

226. [*Nàmgharan*: It is a list containing names of illustrious dead parsi Zoroastrians of India. In an Appendix to the chapter on "Death," *post*, I have reproduced a complete list of names recited, in Bombay and elsewhere, by mobeds, during certain religious ceremonies. —M.M.M.]

227. [I am indebted to Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha for all this interesting information inserted here by me.—M. M. M.]

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[To revert to the Kubiseh controversy and its later developments: On the 6th of March, 1869, Mr K. R. Cama gave a lecture on the subject of 'Jamshedi Naoroz,' Mr Dadabhai Naoroji presiding on that occasion. On the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of March, of the same year, Mr Cama gave lectures on the same subject.

On the 14th and 28th of March, he held two other meetings, in the last of which, (according to Mr Bomanji Byramji Patel's *Parsi Prakash*, p. 282 of vol. II), it was resolved: "The meeting requests the chairman, Mr Naoroji Fardunji, to address letters to the Dasturs on behalf of the meeting, requesting them to give their opinions and views on the controversy raised by Mr Cama, and that, by their presence in another meeting, they do express their views, and that, if they did not agree with Mr Cama, they might discuss the question raised by him." On the 10th of April, 1869, Mr Cama convened another meeting wherein he gave additional information, and a meeting was convened on the 18th of April following, where the said Dasturs were requested to be present. Having assigned various reasons, the Dasturs did not attend, but they suggested that the discussion of Mr Cama's views should be held, not in an open meeting of all and sundry, but in a private meeting of those who were well-versed in Zend and Pahlavi. This suggestion was duly acted upon, and Mr Cama sent written invitations to the scholars of Zend and Pahlavi to attend a meeting on the 9th of May, 1869. Except a few members of the *Society for the promotion of Researches in the Zoroastrian Religion*, neither the Dasturs nor the Zend and Pahlavi scholars turned up. It was consequently resolved that the controversy should be considered in the meetings of that Society. In one of these meetings, an aged Parsi, Mr Shapurji Hoshangji Dotivàlà, raised several points against the views of Mr Cama. Mr Dotivala's contention,

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at the first four such meetings, held between 17th April and the 15th May of 1870, was that, since the exodus of Parsis to India, there should have been ten months of intercalations, (or 'kabiseh'), but that only four had been duly observed, and that six had not been. Mr Cama's reply was that all these ten had never been observed at all. The result of the controversy, led by Mr K. R. Cama for several years, was the formation of a Committee in 1895. It was called "Committee for the preparation of a new Calendar based on investigations in connection with the Zoroastrian and Solar years, thereby to fix a correct day and month for the Parsi religious New Year." One hundred meetings of this Committee were held between the years 1895 and 1902, in which latter year a sub-committee was appointed to draw up a Report comprising all that had been adduced during the one hundred meetings. K. R. Cama, Ervads Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, and Tehemuras Dinshaji Ankleshwaria, and Messrs. Beheramgore Tehemuras Ankleshwaria and Meherjibai Nasarwanji Kukà were appointed to draw up this Report, which was finally published on the 26th of March 1902. A hundred pages have been devoted to the compilation of this Report, which has been published with a short Preface by Mr K. R. Cama. The "Last Words," in Gujarati, at pages 88 *et seq.*, appended to this Report, are interesting and worth reproduction here :

"This much is certain that our *religious* year is seasonal, *i.e.*, it is tropical solar year, and that the year commences with Spring season, *i.e.*, from the Vernal Equinox day. If this is borne carefully in mind, then this also is certain that the *Kabisa* must be observed every four years, *i.e.*, as soon as there is a difference of one day, between the commencement of the *religious* year and that of the tropical solar year, and not to wait for intercalation till this difference reaches the period of one month. For if this latter procedure be adopted, then the

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religious year and the tropical solar year would continue to be separated, one from the other, for a prolonged period, of one hundred and sixteen years, and would tally one with the other, for the first four years only (after the intercalation). That the commandment in the Avesta is in favour of intercalating one day, every four years, is inferable from the *Avardàd Sàlgàh Jasan.* (See page 42 of the Report). No certain conclusion can be arrived at as to the question: How the *Kabisa* (intercalation) was made in the Sassanian period. (See pages 54 to 59, and 66 to 71 of the Report.) But it must be borne in mind that this subject (of the practice of the *Kabisa* in Sàssànian times) is of historical importance only, and beyond that, it is not necessary to attach to it any greater importance. If once we are satisfied as to how the *Kabisa* is to be made so as to be conformable with religious ceremonies, then we shall have nothing whatever to do with the question as to what was the former (ancient) practice.

"Another important matter to which attention is to be directed, is the question: Which is the *First* month? This question being very controversial, one must consider and weigh it with great deliberation. It must be first made certain as to what this expression "*first month*" means. These two words comprehend two meanings:—(1) The month which commences immediately after the *Hamaspathmedem gahambàr*, and (2) the first month commencing with the Vernal Equinox, *i.e.*, with the Spring season.[228] Applying the test of the two meanings, the first mentioned month, as it should be, must be that which answers these two questions best.

228. [For the well-known Avesta scholar E. W. West's opinion, and the arguments on which he bases that opinion, as to "with what season the Parsi New Year originally began," see his Introduction to vol. xlvii. of the *Sacred Books of the East* series, pp. xliii, *et seq.*—M.M.M.]

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"If, on investigation, it is found that a certain (Parsi) month has been hitherto taken to be the *first* month, (with which the year commences), according to the first meaning, but that, if that particular *first* month was really *not* the first month of the Spring season during those ancient times when the *kabisa* was observed, then that month cannot be considered to be the first month of our *religious* year. On the other hand, while this much is certain that the *Hamaspathmedem gahambar* immediately preceded the Vernal Equinox; and if we are, at the same time, satisfied that a certain month always commenced with the Vernal Equinox in the *kabisa*-making era, then *that* month, and that alone, must be reckoned as the really first month. Now, our taking at present the *Farvardin* month as *the* first month (of the Parsi religious year) is in accordance with only the first mentioned meaning; otherwise, of the statement that this Farvardin month, in ancient times, (*i.e.* before the era of Yezdejard) was ever really the first month of the Spring season,—of this statement no proofs are forthcoming. What proofs we do get, and which we have examined, appertain to the month of Farvardin commencing with the Summer Solstice.

"The Hormazd *rôj* (day) of the Farvardin month of the Kadmi sect at present falls on the 16th of August; and, basing our calculations upon that, in regard to the previous corresponding dates, we shall find that, in 1079, A. Y., (*i.e.* 448 A. D.), when the new *Jaldli* era commenced in Persia, this Kadmi *rôj* (day) and *màh* (month) fell on the third of March. (See page 28 of the Report).

"Proceeding further, we shall see that in the year 1000 A. D., (*i.e.* 369 of Yazdejard),—near about which year it is believed that the Book of Albiruni and the Pahlavi *Bundehishn* were written,—that about that period the said Hormazd *rôj* of the Farvardin month of the Kadmi, fell on the day of the Vernal Equinox. (See pages 61 etc. of the Report).

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"In the time of Khalif *Moatedid*, (*i.e.* in the Yazdejardi year 264), this said day of the Kadmi was on the 17th of April (N.S.). (See page 61 of the Report, where it is stated that the Hormazd *rôj* of the Khordàd month was on the 11th of Hajiran (June) O. S., *i.e.* on the 16th of June, N. S.).

"In the first year of the Yazdejardi era, the Hormazd *rôj* of the Farvardin month fell on the 19th of June (N.S.), *i.e.* on the day of the Persian Summer Solstice.[229] (See p. 24 of the Report.)

"We have seen that, during the Sàssànian period, the day Hormazd, of the month of Farvardin, was placed as corresponding with the day of the Summer Solstice : and, that, this is so according to what Alberuni writes, as also according to the history of the fourth sect. (Page 38 of Report.) From this it is made manifest that the first month of the Spring season was the Parsi month called *De*.

"Going further back than the Sàssànian period, we see that the month of Farvardin is placed as the first month of the Capadocean months ; but there is no evidence that that month was the first month of the Vernal Equinox.

"Going even further back than the ante-Sassanian period, *i.e.*, about the period when the Babylonians adopted the Persian months, we find that their month corresponding to the month of Farvardin, was the first month of the Summer Solstice.

"All this shews that, in ancient times, *i.e.* during the period when the *kabisa* was observed, the month of

229. [The following note has been made by Sheheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha :—The true astronomical Solstice falls on the 21st of June. But the Iranian months, being of thirty days each, the 91st day, from the Vernal Equinox, is here spoken of as the Persian Summer Solstice.—M.M.M.]

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Farvardin was certainly not the month of the Spring season, and, therefore, this month of Farvardin cannot be considered as the really first month of the *religious* year, although this much may be said that even before Yezdejard, there were, no doubt, some sects who, for certain reasons, did consider Farvardin month as the first month, *i.e.*, the one commencing after the *Hamaspathmedem gahambár*. But this conclusion can be arrived at, that, the *gahambárs of these people were not comprehended within the proper seasons agreeing with the meanings of the names of these gahambàrs*, because, as Farvardin belongs to the Summer Solstice, their *Mediozarem* (*i.e.*, mid-Spring) *gahambar* must have fallen on the 45th day after the Summer Solstice, *i.e.*, about the 26th of July; and, in the same manner, their other *gahambárs* must also have been in the wrong Seasons.

"From some quarters it is urged that, in the Sassanian Period, the month of *Adar*, which commenced with the Vernal Equinox, was the first month of the secular or civil year, and that, Farvardin commenced the *religious* year at the Spring season. But, in that Sassanian period, the month of Farvardin did not correspond to the Spring season. Not only that, but further, the year commencing with the month *Adar* (with the Vernal Equinox) was never the Civil year. That said year was the *religious* year of the Persians of the West, because, from Alberuni's writings, it is seen that the *Mediozarem gahambár* was observed in the month of *De*, and so on. (See page 23 of the Report.) So were also the ten days, commencing with the day *Astád* of the month of *Avàn*, and of which ten days Alberuni has given a description. In that description he has set forth certain religious ceremonies. (See the translation by Sachau, page 210.) From this it will be seen how baseless is the argument that in the Sassanide period the *religious* year commenced with Farvàrdin of the Spring season, and that in the *civil*

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year the month of *Adar* commenced with the Spring season.

"The arguments of the opponents can be proved to be false in another way also :—If we, for the sake of argument, agreed to the statement that, in the Sàssànian period, the Farvardin month of the *religious* year commenced with the Spring season, and that it so fell, also in the first year of the Yezdezardi era, at the beginning of the Spring season, then with such an argument, nearly thirteen centuries after that are, this particular month, without any *Kabisa*, would fall before 307 days, (see page 25, para. 3 of Report), that is to say, the month of Farvardin should, at the present day, begin with the 18th of May. But this is, in reality, not so.

"If it is argued that in the time of Yezdezard-*bin*-Shàpur, *i.e.*, during whose time the last *Kabisa* is alleged to have been made, the month of Farvardin was the first month of the Spring season, then even after that period, of Yezdezard-*bin*-Shapur, one thousand five hundred years having elapsed, and during those years, a difference of three hundred and sixty three days having taken place, on account of a *Kabisa* not having been at all made, then, even on the above argument, the month of Farvardin ought, at the present day, to fall on the 17th of March. But such even is not the case.

"*Lastly*, amongst us some confidently believe that, just before Parsis came to India, they had made the last *Kabisa*, and relying on this belief, if it is argued that the last *Kabisa* was made in the first century of the Yezdezardi era, then, even after this *Kabisa*, nearly twelve enturies have elapsed, in which case the month of Farvardin, ought, without any *Kabisa* in these twelve centuries, to fall, in the present times, on the 9th of June. But this also is not the case.

"If any *Kabisa* has been made up to the year 1000 A. D., then alone could we say that the Farvardin month

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of the *religious* year, has been, from ancient times, the first month of the Spring season: but all historical evidences go to prove that that upto the year 1000 A. D., a *Kabisa* had *not been made.*

"Then, from all this, it appears that the argument that, in the Sassanian times, the *religious* year opened with the Farvardin month commencing with the Spring season,—this argument is entirely groundless.

"The difference of opinion, in regard to the computation of month and day, may be explained clearly in this wise, that the era, when the great Zoroaster lived, dates from very, very ancient times, but that the indications which we have in regard to the year-computation, emanate from sources several centuries after that era. Even the era of the Achæminian Empire dates long after the time of Zoroaster, and on account of a very long period having intervened between these two periods, it is possible that even during the Achæminian times there may have been several sects with reference to our religion, and in some of which such sects there may have been some that have calculated the month of Farvardin to fall after *Hamaspathmedem gahambàrs*, and the other sects calculating with the month of *De*. After the ruin of the religion during the time of Alexander, *i.e.* when the religion was again revived during the Sassanian Empire, that there were nearly seventy such sects in existence, is rendered evident from historical records. (See Rawlinson's *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, page 57, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I.) It is just possible that, in the Sassanian times, the views and opinions of all these sects having got intermixed, we find, during the Sassanian times, references to those who variously believed in the month *De*, as also *Adar* and *Farvardin* as being the first month of the year. It is also just possible that some of these sects did make the *Kabisa*, and some did not, and, on account of this

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circumstance also, we find, in regard to the Zoroastrian calendar, so many intricacies involved in the history of that time.

"But the opinions and views above set forth could not be *all* simultaneously without error, and be correct. There can only be *one* view that must be correct; and, in order to ascertain that correct view, we must go back over and glance at the very large number of periods preceding the Sassanian period. And, when we thus trace backwards, we find that evidence is forthcoming to show that, 4200 years from now, the month of *De* was the first. Not only that: when we take this *De* month to be the first month, then all the other months fit in correctly with the seasons after each of which each such month is named. Further, when we bear in mind the explanation, which has been given above, as to what is the meaning of the term "*first month*," then also, we find that it is the month of *De*. For this reason, (and a short *precis* of which reason has been given at page 40 of the Report), one can come only to this conclusion, that our *religious* year should be commenced with the Vernal Equinox (*i.e.*, the 21st of March), and that the month of *De* should be reckoned as the first month of this *religious* year; but that the new year of the Yezdezardi era should be reckoned as commencing with the Hormuzd *roj* of the month of Farvardin (*i.e.*, the 19th of June), because the date fixed for the ascension to the throne by Yezdezard is Hormazd *roj* and Farvardin month." Here the "Last Words" of the Report end.][230]

230. [I am indebted to Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha for kindly going through and touching up my English translation of the Gujarati "Last Words" affixed to the Report, and which have been reproduced and inserted here by me, particularly for the information of English reading *savants* of Europe. The subject of the *Kabiseh*, and therefore, of the fixing of the day and month with which the Parsi New Year ought really to commence, has now assumed so important an

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[Mr D. N. Coorlavala tries to show, from Albiruni's work *Athar-ul-Bakya*, published in 1,000 A. D. that: (1) the Zoroastrians living in Persia proper, Sughdha, and Khwarizm, Khuràsàn, and other surrounding districts, commenced their year from the day 'Hormazd,' and the month 'Farvardin', and which day they called 'Nauroz.' (2) The Persian year was composed of 360 days of 30 days of 12 months with the five *Gàthà* days added by the Zoroastrians in Persia proper, after their eighth month 'Abàn,' and by those living in Sughdha, Khuràsàn, and Khwarizm, after their twelfth month 'Aspandàrmad,' in Alberuni's time. (3) The Zoroastrians never added one day every fourth year,—as did the Christians,—to make up the difference,—of about six hours, that accumulated every year,—between the true tropical year and the year of 365 days followed by the ancient Persians as well as by those in Alberuni's own time, but that they, at intervals, made up this difference of hours when it accumulated to a month, and then increased their year by one month, by transferring the

aspect, with the more literate and reformed, albeit small, section of the Parsi community, that I may be forgiven for introducing it here at some length. If Mr Cama's calculations and conclusions survive the very close scrutiny and ordeal, to which they have been hitherto subjected, there is not the least doubt that his name will be everlastingly recorded in the history of the Parsi Calendar as the founder of a third '*panth*' (=sect or schism), which is now beginning to be called the "Naorozi Panth." In 1907, it was announced that an offer had been made to throw open the portals of one of the Bombay *daremehers*, to mobeds who might wish to perform their religious ceremonies on the basis of Mr Cama's views,—that is, to recite the day and month, (*roz* and *màh*), in accordance with his calculations. The principal difficulty, hitherto, had been to find *mobeds* who would have the courage to defy the present time-honoured but incorrect views as to the Parsi New Year, (the *Pateti*), and thereby assist Mr Cama in founding the new sect of Naoroz-ites. Mr Cama unfortunately died before he could fully accomplish his arduous task of conversion to his views as to which day and month should begin the Parsi New Year.—M.M.M.]

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Gàthà days from the end of the 12th to the end of the month whose turn had come for such an intercalation, according to the calculations of the Persian astronomers and other learned men of the time. According to Alberuni, the last of such intercalations was accomplished by the Persian king Yazdezard *bin* Shahpur, when the *Gàthà* days were placed after the 8th month, 'Aban,' in about A. D. 399-420, and there they were found to remain even in Alberuni's own time, *i.e.* upto 1000 A. D. (4) The month De was never considered by the Zoroastrians, of any district, as the *first* month of the year; but on the contrary, as pointedly referred to by Alberuni, (*vide* p. 39 of Coorvala's brochure), the first day of this 10th month ('De') "was also called *Niuvad Roz* (90 days)," and was "celebrated as a feast because there" were "90 days between this day and *Nauroz*". (5) From the festal calendars of the Zoroastrians living in Persia proper, in Sogdiànà and Khwarizm, as given by Alberuni in the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his book, it is clear that they all commenced their year with the month of 'Farvardin,' and not with 'De,' and that this was quite in accordance with their very old and time-honoured belief, practice, and tradition as laid down in the *Bundahishn* and the *Dinkard*, and confirmed by Alberuni. (*Vide* quotation from Alberuni's work on p. 55 of his book.) (6) As noted and observed by Alberuni, the Persians had a high veneration for the first day of the first month 'Farvardin,' which they called '*Nouroz*,' and the 16th day of the 7th month 'Meher' which they called 'Mihirjan'; and Alberuni has treated of these two feast-days at length in his book, and the *Bundahishn* as well as the *Dinkard* also record the importance and the high veneration given and which ought to be given to these days by the Zoroastrians at large. (7). All these beliefs and traditions about "Farvardin," "Nauroz" and "Mihirjan" were very old assets of the Persian nation long before Alberuni's time and not after 1000

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A. D., as some Parsi scholars try to make out, (says Coorlavala), when "Faravardin" must have receded to the Vernal Equinox. The most important feature of Coorlavala's contribution to the controversy of the Fasli year, is the statement in regard to the month's intercalation, so long believed, by the Parsis in India, to have been accomplished by their ancestors, in the mountains of Khurásàn, some time before their flight towards India. From the following references, found in Alberuni's writings, Coorlavala wishes to show that so long ago as 1,000 A. D., a difference of one month existed between the Zoroastrians living in Persia proper and those struggling for existence in the mountains of Khuràsàn, Khwarizm, and other surrounding districts. In support of his views, he mentions Alberuni's references: (*a*) to the people of Khurasan having made, in his own time, the first day of the sixth month, 'Sherewar,' the beginning of autumn. (*Vide* Alberuni, p. 207.) (*b*) The 15th day of the month 'Tir' of the Khwarizmian calendar "coinciding with middle of summer." (*Vide* Alberuni, p. 224.) (*c*) The 11th day of the 10th month of the Khwarizmian calendar becoming the middle of winter in Alberuni's time. (*Vide* Alberuni, p. 225). From the above cited casual references in Alberuni's account, Coorlavala indicates, (in a Table, which he has given, of the months of the Persians, the Khurasànians, and the Khwarizmians), that, when the Persians commenced their second month of 'Ardibesht' on the 15th of April, 1000 A. D. (O. S.), the Khoràsànian and the Khwarizmians began their first month of 'Farvardin,' and thus there was a clear difference of a month between these two important branches of the Zoroastrians still struggling for existence after the fall of their empire. There was, therefore, nothing to wonder at, he says, if, to the Persian *mobed* who first came out to India about two hundred years ago, in Surat, it seemed strange that the Parsis in India should have been one

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K. R. Cama . . . . and his opponent . . . Ardesir Sorabji Dastur Kamdin

"The providence of Avesta scholars."—Darmesteter.

The Kabisa and Fasli Sal Controversies.

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month behind their brethern in Persia, he being ignorant of the true state of things. The Parsis also of his time having no knowledge of their own, of the true state of things, beyond, perhaps, mere verbal traditions, could not argue out the point with that learned Persian *mobed*; and the result was that some Parsis sided with that Persian, and revised their calendar by putting it a month in advance of the one then current in India, and called themselves 'Kadmis,' and the rest called themselves 'Shàhàn-shahis'] (231).

[It may be observed, *en passant*, that by the lamentable death of Mr Ardeshir Sorabji Dastur Kamdin,—the great opponent of Mr K. R. Cama's views,—the Parsi community has lost a man who had, within the last few years, published a very large number of pamphlets, attempting to disprove Mr Cama's views. To Mr Cama himself this loss was irreparable, as Mr Bomanji B. Patel records on page 329 of the second volume of his *Parsi Prakash*, that, although Mr Shapurji Hoshangji Dotivala was against Mr Cama's views, it was Mr Cama who provided all the expenses for the holding of four meetings (in 1870) in which Mr Dotivala was given an opportunity to put forward, as an opponent of Mr Cama, his views and arguments.] (232)

[As already indicated in the preceding pages, next to the controversial question of the *kabiseh*, is that of fixing the names of the *first* and of the *last* months of the *Fazli* or seasonal year,—which is the name now applied to the period of 365 days, in accordance with the arguments and calculations now put forward,—with more than partial success,—by K. R. Cama and his collaborators in the subject of the *Kabiseh* and the correct *Nao-Roz* (=New

231. [For the above summary inserted by me, I am indebted to Mr Coorlavala's brochure.—M.M.M.]

232. [Note placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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Year's day) for the Parsis. Although these advocates of a *Fazli* year have now succeeded in gathering a small band of adherents, the difficulty, as to fixing the names that should be given to the *first* and the *last* months of the *Fazli* year, yet awaits solution. K.R. Cama had not (upto the year 1908 A. D.) made up his mind. However, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, in a Gujarati paper, written and published on the 23rd of October 1905, advanced arguments,—mainly based upon *Yasna* I. 1-10,—to prove that the month '*Dae*' should be the *first* month, and the month 'Adar' the *last* month of the Fazli year. The only regret is that such an important and learned Paper is in the Gujarati language, thereby precluding an opportunity to European and American *savants*, to have their 'say' on Ervad Bharucha's arguments.][233]

[With reference to this controversy, as to which month should be the *first* month of the Parsi year, Ervad Sheheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha opines that: "The Zoroastrian religious year of the first age of the Avestic times began with *Dae Dàdàr* as the first month of the year and *Adar* as the last. The present notion of *Farvardin* as the first month and *Spandarmad* as the last month of the Zoroastrian year was unknown in the old Avestic times. The custom of reckoning the order of months from *Farvardin* came in vogue in some post-Avestic time, possibly sometime after the downfall of the Sàssànian dynasty, and probably when Jalàl-ud-din Malik Shàh, of the Saljuki dynasty, inaugurated his own era. During his time, *Farvardin*,—the first in order of the months of Yazdejardi era, which began with his accession to the throne on the 19th of June 631 A.D. [N. S],—had receded, owing to absence of intercalation of the yearly six hours, and had then fallen on the 21st of March, the time of the Vernal Equinox or Jamshedi Naoroz: from which time,

233. [Information placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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the wrong notion of considering *Farvardin* as the first month both of the Zoroastrian religious year as well as of the accession of Yazdejard originated, and has continued to the present day among our co-religionists." (See the learned Ervad's paper in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Memorial Volume*, p. 208.] [234]

[Says the *Rast Goftar*, weekly newspaper, in its Number for the 29th of March, 1908 :—" Friday last the 20th of March (1908) will be written in *kûnkûn* [will be a red-letter day] in the history of the Parsis of India. On that day has taken place an event which has never occured in the last 1276 years. Such an event has not happened not only amongst the Parsis of India, but even amongst the Zarthoshtees of Iràn, or even of other countries. As amongst the English people it is customary to intercalate one day after each period of four consecutive years in order to make up the quarter-day of each of these years, so have members of the " Zarhoshti Fasli Sal Mandal " (=the Zoroastrian Seasonal Year Society), and their invited guests (ladies and gentlemen) commenced to do. On the 20th of March last, a *Kabiseh Jasan* (Feast) was held for the first time in India. At this Jasan, the Society held its correctly timed Avardad-Sal-Gah Jasan. For the last two years, this Society has commenced to reckon its correct religious year from the Jamshedi Naoroz Day (of the Vernal Equinox). On the day that ended the year on the 19th idem, the Society held its Feast or Jasan of Hamaspthmedem Gahambàr, and celebrated the Afringàn Gahambàr. Upto now, it could not find a single mobed to perform the Afringàn on its correct day. And so the Gahambàr Jasans were held by the celebration of the usual [unseasonal or untimely] Afringàn. But this year, the Afringàn Gahambàr proper was celebrated on its correct Gahambàr day.....The next day was the *Kabiseh* day. On that day evening, not one but

234. [Excerpt placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

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two mobeds performed, with due solemnity, the ceremony of the Avardàd Sàl Gàh Jasan, [that is, Afringàn of the 366th additional or newly intercalated day in the common year of 365 days], and the Parsis, present therein, joined it with as much solemnity. This was on the Jasan for the *Kabiseh*....On the third day, that is on the Jamshedi Naoroz, a third stage [in the newly inaugurated system of calculating the correct Parsi year] was reached; and on that day the Rapithvan Jasan was celebrated at the very time of its commencement, as it is done in the Atash-Beheràms and Agiàris, but on the [third and not on the first] day [of the month.]" [235].

[While the Kabiseh controversy was at its highest in 1822, the foundations of two Atash-Beheràms were laid at Surat,—the one for the Shàhànshàhis and the other for the Kadmi Parsis. The Shàhànshàhis opposed the Kadmis on the ground that there could not be two Atash Beherams in one city according to religious custom. The matter was carried to courts of law. Both parties prepared themselves with facts from the religious and traditional literature. They supported their case by passages from the *Avesta*, *Vajarkard-Dinik*, the *Revayets*, *Zartosht-Namah*, *Sikandar-Namah*, *Burhan-e-Kata*, etc.] [236]

The Shàhánshàhi Parsis are greatly superior in number to the Kadmi Parsis.[237] The latter can hardly count

235. [Excerpt placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

236. [Inserted by me. Vide *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 181.—M.M.M.]

237. The sect of the Shahanshahi Parsis possesses, in Bombay, two High Priests (=Dasturs),—Dastur Jamaspi Minocherji and Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjana. At Poona, there is only one, Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji. The sect of the Kadmis has also High Priests,—Dastur Kharshedji Phirozji Mulla Firoz, elected by the whole community, attached to the Dadiseth Atash-Beheram, and Dustur Kharshedji Bezonji attached to the Framji Kavasji Banaji's Atash-Behram. [Since the publication of the French edition,

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more than ten to fifteen thousand adherents. Many of them occupy the highest position. The late Mr Framji Nasarwanji Patel, the members of the Cama, the Dadiseth, the Banaji, and Murzban families, are among the Kadmi families. The Shahanshahis are represented by the families of Sir Jamshedji Jijibhoy, Sir Dinshah Manockji Petit, and many other not less respected names.

the chief Dasturs Jamaspji and Peshotan have been, on their demise, respectively succeeded by their sons Kaikhushroo and Darab. Dastur Kaikhushroo Jamaspji was the High Priest of the newly consecrated Atash-Beheram at Bombay, generally known as the Anjuman's Atash-Beheram. Dastur Sham-ul-Ulma Darab Dastur Peshotan Beheramji Sanjana is the High Priest of the old Wadiaji's Atash-Beheram. Sirdar Dastur Hoshangji died in 1908, and was succeeded by Dastur Kaekobad Adarbad, a kinsman of his. They have both received the honour of being enrolled as *Sirdars* of the Deccan. The Kadmi High Priest, Dustoor Kharshedji Pherozji Mulla Feroz has now ceased to hold that office, and the Kadmi community, after some years, elected Dinshâhji Jivanji Gharda, as their Dastur and he is attached to the Dadiseth's Atash-Beheram (in Bombay). After Dustoor Kharshedji Bezanji's demise, his office was filled, in 1916, as stated in a foregoing page, by Dustoor Kaekhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asana, although himself a Shâhânshâhi. In Sindh and Baluchistan the Parsis, resident there, have nominated Dr M. N. Dhalla, Ph.D., as High Priest of the Parsis of North-Western India. Just as this note of mine was about to finally pass the hands of the printer, news has been received of the premature demise of Dastur Kaikhushroo Jamaspji Jamasp-Asana, on 23rd June 1916. His brother Minocheherji will be his successor in office. The latter is the author of a Gujarati epitome, in prose, of Firdansi's *Shâh-Nâmeh*.—M.M.M.]

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APPENDIXES

TO

CHAPTER III—"POPULATION".

I.—Opinions, of various writers, as to the alleged worship by Parsis, of the Sun and Fire.

II.—List of Charitable etc., Institutions, Funds etc., in Bombay, established for the use of Parsis, (except where otherwise specified.)

III.—Yearly Charities by Parsis: (Form 1861 to 1914 A.D.)

IV.—STATISTICAL, CENSUS, ETC. TABLES.

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APPENDIXES TO CHAPTER III, "POPULATION."

APPENDIX I.

Opinions, of various writers, as to alleged worship, by Parsis, of the Sun and Fire.

[*Note*: For the following excerpts I am indebted to Ervad Dinshah Dorabji Dordi, of Naosari. They have been prepared for my English edition of *Les Parsis*.—M.M.M.]

"With the employment of fire begins the civilization of mankind, and this beneficent element, the use of which, like speech and reason, distinguishes men from beasts, enjoys, on that account, divine veneration everywhere on our globe. To the *Avesta* people, however, it is something more than the mere foundation of civilized life. With them, it is, at the same time, the holiest and the purest element, the reflection of their Highest Deity,—Ahura Mazda. It is, moreover, the symbol of moral purity, and a strong weapon of defence against the demons. During night and darkness, when the wicked demons are at work, fire produces light and brightness, and frightens away these hellish spirits.

"Fire is directly called *Ahurae Mazdao puthra*, the son of Ahura Mazda; he is His earthly image, of the same nature and essence with Himself. He is a genius, after the creation was completed, first spontaneously descended upon earth in order to protect the creatures devoted to Mazda against powers of evil. This is proved by the fact that Ashavahista, the genius of the best purity, is at the same time the genius of fire. Hence also the hearth-fire, as the centre of the house, is the symbol of a fixed settlement, and the latter, on the other hand, is the characteristic or token that distinguishes the righteous and faithful from the impious....." Geiger: *The Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, vol. I, p. 74.

* * *

"Ahura-Mzda being the origin of light, his symbol is the Sun with the moon and the planets, and, in default of them, the fire-temples and altars must, for ever, be fed with the holy fire, brought down, according to tradition, from heaven, and sullying of whose flames is punishable with death. The priests themselves approach it only

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with half a mask over the face, and never touch it but with holy instruments. But, however great the awe felt by the Parsees with respect to fire and light, they never consider. these as anything but emblems of divinity."—*The Twentieth Century Home Cyclopædia*, vol. III, p. 1775.

* * *

" They recognize one God, Ormazd, invisible and omnipotent, the creator, governor, and preserver of all things .....The Sun is the eye of Hormuzd, and, like all the heavenly bodies, is animated with a soul. The worship of idols is prohibited, but reverence for Fire and the Sun, inculcated, as emblems of Deity."—*The Twentieth Century Home Cyclopædia*, vol. II, p. 1099.

* * *

"May we not say that they have largely preserved a pure faith in one supreme beneficent God,—Ormazd, —and believe them repudiate the designation 'fire-worshippers,' and reject idolatry in all forms? Fire they revere; fire is the symbol of their God, and they do not treat fire lightly in any circumstances: indeed, they are the only people who universally restrain from tobacco-smoking as offending their religious principles. But they are equally fixed in the determination not to defile any of the works of Ormazd, whether earth, water, animals, or plants; and their practices of cleanliness and frequent personal ablution must have contributed greatly to their maintenance in health....." G. T. Bettany, M. A.: *The Great Indian Religions*, p. 278.

* * *

" The Sun, the Sun! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal! Yea, and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love,
For all they rule—by equal law for all?
By deeds alight to men?

HYMN.

I.

"Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see thee rise.

Every morning, thy birth-day gladdening human hearts and eyes.

Every morning here, we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee.

Thee the God-like, thee the changeless in thine ever changing skies.

II.

Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer arrowing light from clime to clime.

Here thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme.

Kneel adoring Him the Time-less in the flame that measures Time."—Lord Tennyson: *Akbar's Dream.*

* * *

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"Parsees are commonly called fire-worshippers;-but several well-known European scholars have proved the supposition to be founded on wrong data. Dr. Hyde, in his celebrated work on the ancient Parsee religion, also says that: "The Persians, from the beginning of their existence as a nation, always believed in only one and the same true and omnipotent God. They believed in all the attributes of the Deity believed by us: and God is called, in their own writings, the Dear, the Creator, the Governor, and the Preserver of the world."....God, according to the Parsee faith, is the emblem of glory, refulgence and light, and, in this view, a Parsee while engaged in prayer, "is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the Sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty."....Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*, p. 321, (ed. of 1899.)

* * *

"Those slaves of Fire who, morn and eve,
Hail their Creator's dwelling place
Among the living lights of heaven."
THOMAS MOORE.

* * *

"They suppose the Throne of the Almighty is seated in the Sun, and hence their worship of that luminary."—HANVEY.

* * *

"As to fire, the Ghebars place the spring-head of it in that globe of fire, the Sun, by them called Mythras, or Meher, to which they pay the highest reverence, in gratitude for the manifold benefits flowing from its ministerial omniscience. But they are so far from confounding the subordination of the Servant with the Majesty of its Creator, that they not only attribute no sort of sense or reasoning to the sun or fire in any of its operations, but consider it as a purely passive blind instrument, directed and governed by the immediate impression, on it, of the will of God; but they do not even give that luminary, all glorious as it is, more than the second rank among his works, reserved first, for that stupendous production of divine power, the mind of man."—GROSE.

* * *

"The false charges [of Fire and Sun worship], brought against the religion of these people, by their Mussalman tyrants, is but one proof among many of the truth of this writer's remarks, that "calumny is often added to oppression, if but for the sake of justifying it."—*The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, vol. VI, p. 221-22. (Longman, Green and Longman, Publishers: 1841.)

* * *

"Fire, as the pure and radiant source of light, heat, and vitality, is regarded by them as the most perfect symbol of the Divinity."—*The Cyclopœdia of Religious Denominations*, p. 5, (1853.)

* * *

"Parsees look upon God as the emblem of glory and spiritual life,

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and, when they pray, they either face the sun or stand before a fire as the most fitting emblem of the Deity. For this they are wrongly termed fire-worshippers, a statement which they themselves indignantly deny."—Philip H. Gibbs: *India: Our Eastern Empire*, p. 38.

* * *

"The Parsees hold fire to be the most perfect symbol of the Deity, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtlety, fecundity, and incorrupitibility. Several historians, among them Sir John Malcolm, have proved that the reproachful term of 'fire-worshippers' should not be applied to the Parsees."—T. H. Furneause: *Glimpses of India*, p. 124. (1895.)

"Light was the type of the good spirit; darkness, of the evil spirit: and, as stated above, God said to Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines'. Hence, the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotion in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar: and, when in the open air, towards the Sun as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole and perpetuates the works of His creation."—*The Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. XXVII, p. 817.

* * *

"I have designated them [ancient Persians] as *Gabars*, after the native fashion, but this term is derogatory, being equivalent to "unbelievers," and is never employed by the Zoroastrians themselves. They designate themselves as Zardushtians, Zoroastrians, sometimes as *Bah-Dinan*, "those of the Good Religion"; or again, Farsis, *i.e.* "Parsis," from Fars or Pars, the old province of Persia proper. As for the name Fire-worshipper (Atash-Parast), the Zoroastrians in Persia as well as in India object to that title. They claim that they regard fire as a symbol or manifestation of Ormazd, as an emblem of purity and power and not as a divinity. It would be equally logical, they urge, (and I was prepared to hear this argument), for Christians to be called Cross-worshippers after the symbol of their faith."—A. V. W. Jackson: (*Persia*: *Past and Present*, p. 274. ed. 1906.)

* * *

"Zoroaster, or Zaradusht, was the founder of this religion [of the fire-worshippers] in Persia, and, as he was a native of Atropatene, it may be inferred that he travelled in Bactria and brought thence the ideas on which he built a religious system which continues to exist to our time, and is acknowledged to be one of the great fundamental religions of the world. While the fire-worshippers made fire the symbol of the Almighty, yet it would be an error to conclude that this was all that was included in their creed; for, Zoroaster laid down many rules of morality, and, in the commentaries, either wrote or collected, he suggested profound theories about the All-Ruler of the universe and the destiny of

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man."—S. G. W. Benjamin: *Persia*, pp. 87-88, (ed. 1888.)

* * *

"If they have been correctly interpreted, Zoroaster and the ancient Magi, whose memories the Parsis revere and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught their disciples to consider the glorious Sun itself as anything more than a creature of the Great Creator. They were to revere it as his best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth ; the sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol."—Henry G. Bohn : *India: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, p. 476, (ed. 1854.)

* * *

"The Aryas of the *Rig-Veda* were Fire-worshippers."

Note :—"And probably the Indo-Eranian Aryas also. Not so the Zoroastrians to this day so misnamed. The very essence of Zarathushtra's reform consisted in transforming Fire-and-Soma worship into a symbolical art."—Zenaide A. Ragozin : *Vedic-India*, p. 435, (ed. 1895.)

* * *

"It is customary to sweep, under the head 'heathen religions,' all except the three great Semetic religions : Judaism, Christianity, and Islamizm or the religion of Mahomed. It is doubtful how far so comprehensive a designation may be correct in individual instances. In that of Parsis, at best, it appears decidedly rash, since they earnestly, emphatically profess the worship of the one true God, and a horror of any kind of polytheism,—a form of belief which, surely, should win them a place among monotheists as must be shown by a brief review of their religious tenets and practices...

"It has always been known in Europe, that the Parsis or Gebers, ('infidels,' as the Mussalmans contemptuously called them), followed a religion of which the most peculiar and striking outer feature was the honour paid to fire, that they had sacred fires kept burning always in chapels, and that, when they moved from place to place, they carried these fires with them. It was, naturally enough, inferred that Fire was their deity, their god : and the name of 'fire-worshippers' was universally bestowed on them. Only a scholarly few had a deeper and more correct perception of what was, to the mass, an absurd superstition, and knew that the Parsis did not worship fire as a deity, but admired and honoured, it as the purest and most perfect emblem of the Deity."—Zenaide At Ragozin : *Media, Babylon, & Persia.* pp. 2 & 6, (ed. 1897.)

* * *

"Zoroaster, and the ancient magi, whose memories they [Parsees] revere, and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught them to consider the sun as anything more than a creature of the Great Creator of the universe ; they were to revere it as his best and fairest image, and

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for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth; the sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol."—James Forbes, F. R. S.: *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 80.

* * *

"It is allowed by Vossius, who most diligently investigated the subject of idolatry, that, in early ages, Fire was to them [ancient Persians] but a symbol of God, and such it is at present among their descendants, the Parsis and Gabrs, or rather, as they denominate themselves, *Behdin* and *Mazdiesnan*."—Sir W. Ouseley: *Travels in Various Countries of the East.*

* * *

"The followers of Zoroaster disclaimed any idolatrous worship of the fire itself, but simply revered it as an emblem of the Deity; but fire-worshippers they appeared to those who could not appreciate or did not care to investigate such subtle distinctions."—John Pigot, F. S. A: *Persia, Ancient and Modern.*

* * *

FRIENDLINESS OF A FIRE.

"A fire's a good companionable friend,
A comfortable friend, who meets your face
With welcome glad, and makes the poorest shed,
As pleasant as a palace. Are you cold?
He warms you.—Weary? he refreshes you.
Hungry? he doth prepare your food for you.
Are you in darkness? he gives light to you.
In a strange land? he wears a face that is
Familiar from your childhood. Are you poor?
What matters it to him. He knows no difference
Between an emperor and the poorest begger?
Where is the friend that bears the name of man
Who will do as much for you?"—

MARY HOWITH.

* * *

"But the term ['*Gabre*'] was not dishonourable in its primitive signification, for, it expressed, either the professors, generally, or merely the priests, of a religion which taught, "the worship of one God, without images," and which might be styled philosophical, when compared with the superstitions of all other heathens. Priests, who, in cherishing on their altars a perpetual flame, seem only to have obeyed the injunctions of an inspired legislator, instructing the chosen people, the children of Israel, as Huet remarks."—Sir W. Ouseley: *Travels in Various Countries of the East.*

"Of fire- worship, in an idolatrous sense, the Parsis are altogether innocent. The accusation is a calumny, which can only be repeated through wilful malice or culpable ignorance. Zoroaster adopted the old Aryan-fire-cult, making that beneficent

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element and chief instrument of civilization not an object, but a centre of worship. The Parsis do likewise. The purified flame, burning in the temples, is to them a symbol of the Divinity, and an aid to the lifting up of thought."—*The Faith of Iran*: *vide* the "Edinburgh Review," (October 1895), p. 408.

* * *

"The Parsis have been charged with being worshippers of the visible fire. This is wholly false. They face the fire, as also they do the sun and the sea, because, in them, they picture to themselves the hidden Light of Lights, source of all life, to which they give the name of Ormazd."—"*The Spirit of the Zoroastrian Religion*": being a Lecture delivered by Col. Olcott at the Town Hall, Bombay, on Tuesday the 14th February 1882.

* * *

"I am very far from supposing that the Parsi fire-worship is idolatry. Whoever accuses the Parsis of that most heinous of all crimes, and is not able to prove that they believe fire or the sun to be God himself, is certainly guilty of the most detestable sin of calumny..... ...A pure and undefiled flame is certainly the most sublime natural representation of Him who is, in Himself, Eternal Light: and whose priests, as His representatives on earth, ought to be in themselves as it were living and walking pure flames of a heavenly fire. If fire-priests, like the Flamines, Brahmans, and Atarvakshis, they ought to maintain the Sacred Flame, the symbol of God's presence, only with the purest possible fuel as its nourishment." — Lord Bishop Meurin: *Zoroaster and Christ.*

* * *

"The Parsi still faces some light-giving object, as the sun or fire when he offers his prayer, and the priests cover their faces when they approach the flame, lest it be defiled by their breath. It is, however untrue to speak of the Parsi as worshipping fire; they simply regard it as emblem of divine power and honour it accordingly."—Edward Clodd: *The Childhood of Religions*, p. 167.

* * *

"The Parsis worship the Sun as the brightest creation of God, as the emblem of His purity, as the mirror of His brightness, as the evidence of His omnipotence, as the majestic throne, around which unimitable worlds revolve in their orbit, subject to His will."—Hon'ble Charles De Poston: *The Parsees.*

* * *

"Zoroaster's religion was strictly free from idolatry.....Idolatry is entirely repugnant to the spirit of the *Zend Avesta*, and Herodotus says that the Persians knew nothing of images of gods. Fire, the great ethereal principle and the most powerful agent, was specially regarded."—Israel Smith Clare: *The Unrivalled History of the World*, vol. I.

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"The worship of idols, and indeed of any being, except Ormazd, is held in abomination: but a reverence for

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fire and the sun is inculcated, as they are emblems of the glory of the Supreme Deity."..... *The New American Cyclopædia*, vol. VIII, p. 546. (Printed, in 1862, by Messrs George Ripley and Charles A. Dana.)

* * *

"So many things could be told of him, how that he [fire] was the son of the two pieces of wood; how, as soon as he was born, he devoured his father and mother, that is, the two pieces of wood from which he sprang; how he disappeared or became extinguished, when touched by water; how he dwelt on the earth as a friend; how he moved down a whole forest; how, at a later time, he carried the sacrificed offerings from earth to heaven, and became a messenger and mediator between the gods and men: that we need not wonder at his many names and epithets, and at the large number of ancient stories or myths told of *Agni*: nor need we wonder at the oldest of all myths, that there was in the fire something invisible and unknown, yet undeniable it may be the Lord."—F. Max Muller: *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 212-213, 1882.

* * *

"Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, "My light is concealed under all that shines". Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred-fire that burns upon its altar; and, when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation."—Sir John Malcolm: *History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 194.

* * *

"Fire, as the most subtle and ethereal principle, and again, as the most powerful agent, attracted their [the Parsis'] highest regards; and on their fire-altars the sacred flame generally said to have been kindled from heaven, was kept burning uninterruptedly, from year to year, and from age to age, by bands of priests, whose special duty it was to see that the sacred spark was never extinguished. To defile the altar by blowing the flame with one's breath was a capital offence; and to burn a corpse was regarded as equally odious."—James D. McCalie: *Pictorial History of the World*, pp. 194-195.

* * *

"In many parts of the *Avesta*, fire is, no doubt, spoken of with great reverence, but those who speak of the Zoroastrians as fire-worshippers, should know that the true followers of Zoroaster abhor that very name."—Max Muller: *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. I, (Preface).

* * *

"Fire-worshippers also had come from Navsari in Gujarat, and proved to His Majesty [King Akbar] the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fire-worship the great worship, and impressed the emperor so favourably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rights of the

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old Parsis, and ordered Abdul Fazal to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at Court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it has been continually burning; for, fire was one of the manifestations of God and 'a ray of His rays'."—Abdul Fazal Allami: *The Ain-i-Akbari*: (Translated from the original Persian, by H. Blochmann, M. A.)

* * *

"Regard Fire, then, with other eyes than with those soul-less, incurious ones with which thou hast looked upon it as the most ordinary thing. Thou hast forgotten what it is,—or rather thou hast never known. Chemists are silent about it..... Philosophers talk of it as anatomists discourse of the constitution (or the parts) of the human body. It is made for man and this world and it is greatly like him,—that is *mean*, they would add. But is this all ? Is this the sum of that casketed lamp of the human body ?—thine own body, thou unthinking world's machine —thou man? Or, in the fabric of this clay-lamp burneth there not a Light ? Describe that, ye doctors of physics ?.....Note the goings of the Fire.....Think that this thing is bound up in matter-chains. Think that He is outside of all things ; and that thou and thy world are only the thing between : and that outside and inside are both identical, couldst thou understand the supernatural truths ? Reverence Fire (for its meaning) and tremble at it. Avert the face from it, as the Magi turned, dreading, and (as the symbol) bowed askance.....Wonder no longer then, if, rejected so long as an idolatry, the ancient Persians, and their Masters, the Magi concluding that they saw "All" in this supernaturally magnificent element,—fell down and worshipped it; making of it the visible representation of the very truest ; but yet, in man's speculation, and in his philosophies,—nay, in his commonest reason,—impossible God."—*Robert Fludd* : the English mystic of the 17th century, quoted in 'Hargrave Jennings' *The Rosicrucians*, p. 69.

* * *

"But the Jews found also, in Persian faith, the one among all religions most like their own, in this, that it had no idols, and worship but that addressed to the Unseen. Sun and Fire were his symbols, but he himself was hidden behind the glorious veil. And it seems, as if the Jews needed the support of finding another nation also hating idolatry, before they could really rise above their tendency to back slide into it. "In the mouth of two witnesses," the spiritual worship of God was established, and not till Zoroaster took the hand of Moses did the Jews cease to be idolators After the return from the captivity that tendency wholly disappears."—James Freeman Clarke : *Ten Great Religions*, p. 205.

* * *

"The Lord God of the Jews being recognised as identical with Ormazd, a sympathetic feeling united the

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peoples. The Jews, so impatient generally of a foreign yoke, never revolted from the Persians, and the Persians so intolerant, for the most part, of religions other than their own, respected and protected Judaism. The sympathy was increased by the fact that the religion of Ormazd was anti-idolatrous. In the early ages nature worship was allowed; but the Iranic system pronounced against it from the first. No images of Ahura-Mazd, or of the Izeds, profaned the severe simplicity of an Iranic temple .....The Old Zoroastrianism was, in this respect, as pure as the religion of the Jews, and thus a double bond of religious sympathy united the Hebrews and the Arians."—G. Rawlinson: *Seven Great Monarchies*, Vol. II, Ch. IV, p. 471.

* * *

"It was due more to their moral earnestness and insight than to their intellectual superiority that the Persians came nearer to monotheism than to any other people of heathen antiquity. Ahriman was entirely evil and therefore only to be hated and combated: while Ahuramazd was absolutely divine, perfectly good, ...and therefore to be supremely worshipped.....

"Finally, reason in striving to understand and explain the world, tends towards monotheism."—*Encyclopædia Britanica*, (9th Ed.), Vol. XXIII, p. 238.

* * *

"Water and fire are the two great sources of symbolical purification that we meet in both primitive and advanced rituals of the past."— Robertson Smith: *Religion of the Semites:* (Quoted by Jastraw in *The Babylonian Assyrian Religions*, p. 276.)

* * *

"Ardibahist is the genius of fire and light; both elements stand in relation to him. God has ordered him to watch over these elements, to remove the weakness and diseases by drugs and nourishments; to distinguish truth from falsehood, the true man from the liar, by means of those oaths that are manifest in the *Avesta*."—Albiruni: p. 204, (ed. by Dr. C. Edward Sachau; 1879.)

* * *

Dakiki the poet, who was *first* entrusted with the task of versifying the *Shah-namah*, was a fire-worshipper, as the following four lines of his bear witness:—

"Of all the world's good and ill
Four things Dakiki chooseth still—
Girl's ruby lips, the sound of lyre,
The blood-red wine, the Faith of Fire."

—The *Shah-namah* of Firdusi: By Messrs A. G. Warner and E. Warner, p. 69.

* * *

"The sole external cult of the Parsees consists in holy fires. Parsee or Persian has the original meaning of fire-worshipper. They did not worship fire, indeed for its own sake, but as the most worthy symbol of the Supreme Deity."—Maurice Fuegel; *The Zend Avesta and the Eastern Religions*: p. 37. (Baltimore, 1898).

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APPENDIX II.

List of Charitable etc. Institutions, Funds etc., in Bombay, established for the use of Parsis, (except where otherwise specified).

The following List has been prepared by me, with my own notes, from a booklet of 143 pages, evidently compiled in 1911, with great assiduity, by Faredun Kershasp Dadachanji, B.A., LL.B., a Solicitor-at-Law of the Bombay High Court. In an interesting Preface, he informs his readers that, of the charitable institutions,—for which he has been able to gather detailed information,—the Funds for the purpose of "Education" alone amount to Rs. 67,95,539, either in cash or invested in real property, with an annual income of Rs. 2,03,994 therefrom. Similarly, the institutions for "Medical and Surgical Relief" are worth Rs. 38,36,051, with an annual income of Rs. 1,98,512 therefrom, for their up-keep. Institutions maintained for the purposes of "Religious Observances etc.", have Rs. 11,47,884, invested in various ways, with an annual income of Rs. 65,369. These institutions do not comprise dadgah, adaryan, (*i.e.*, ecclesiastical institutions ranking next to Atash-Beherams), Atashbeherams, Sagdi, (*i. e.*, small structures where a fire is kept within the precincts of dokhma grounds), or Dokhmas. Funds relating to Institutions founded for miscellaneous "social, civil, or secular" purposes amount to Rs. 31,67,047. with an annual income of Rs. 2,67,544. The Funds appertaining to all these Institutions amount to Rs. 1,49,46,523, in all, with annual income of Rs. 7,35,420. The amounts of the Funds in charge of the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds are shewn in the published accounts of the years 1907 *et. seq.*—M.M.M.

I.—Educational Institutions.

1.—*The Mulla Firuz Library*: Established in 1830 A.D., for the use of the public in general. It contains a collection of books bequeathed by the late Kadmi Dastur Mulla Feruz bin Kaus, and those purchased thereafter. The total value is Rs. one lakh, approximately, with funds invested in Government and other securities, to the value of Rupees 20,000, with an annual income of Rs. 800.

2.—*The Jijibhai Dadabhai Charitable Institutions* : Founded in 1849 A. D. They comprise (1) an Agyari, in Colaba, and (2) one in Saronda (Gujrat), (3) an Anglo-Gujarati school in Khetwadi (Bombay), (4)

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schools in Udvada and Broach (Gujarat), and (5) seminaries (='Madreseh') in Damaun, Pardi, Siganpore, Soomari, Elav, and Anklesvar, (all in Gujarat). Funds,—invested in the Bombay Bank and in buildings of sorts,—amount to Rupees 10,00,000, with an annual income to Rs. 30,000.

3.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Benevolent Institution*: For the use of poor Parsis only. It comprises (1) Schools for boys and girls, in Bombay and Gujarat (*viz.*, in Surat, Naosari, Bharuch, Udavada, Balsar, Bilimora, and Gandevi); (2) Funds for the maintenance of (*a*) poor children, (*b*) for the defrayal of expenses on occasions of (1) deaths of Parsis in indigent circumstances, (2) marriage of daughters of poor Parsis. The properties, in which part of the Funds are invested, are situated in Bombay, and the remainder invested in securities of sorts, and in shares of the Bengal Bank. The total amount so invested is Rs. 15,25,000, with an income of Rs. 15,000.

4.—*The Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha*: Established in 1851 A. D., for the facilitating of the (*a*) delivery of lectures on and instruction in religious and ethical subjects; (*b*) of the publication of books, booklets, tracts, etc., relating to the Zoroastrian religion. It possesses funds to the amount of Rs. 40,479, with an annual income of Rs. 1,311.

5.—*The Mulla Firuz Madressah*: Established in 1854 A. D., for the instruction of Parsis only, in the Zend Avesta, and Pahalvi languages. It has funds amounting to Rs. 78,000, invested in Government and other securities, yielding an annual income of Rs. 3,000. Scholarships etc. are awarded therefrom.

6.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy School of Art*: Established in 1857 A.D., for the use of the public in general, for instruction in drawing, painting, modelling, sculpture, architectural designs, engraving in gold, silver, brass, copper, iron, and woodwork, in carpet-weaving, enamelling, and pottery. This Institution is managed by Government.

7.—*The Zarthushti Girls' School Mandli*, (= Association): Founded in 1857 A.D. (Statistics, appertaining to it, have been later on given by me in a Tabulated Statement for Parsi Girls' Schools of Bombay. Teaches Gujarati, cookery, sewing, embroidery and singing. Comprises three schools, one in Chandanvadi, one in Fort: and one in Mazagaon, (all in Bombay). The building and land for the Fort branch were endowed by Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, at a cost of Rs. 1,03,642. The funds, (upto 1906), appertaining to the Association, amounted to Rs. 1,94,100, with an annual income of over Rs. 20,000, from various sources.

8.—*The Alexandra Native Girls' Institution*: Established, on 1st September 1863, by Maneckji Kharshedji Shroff, for the use of girls of all nationalities. Statistics appertaining to it have been later on given by me in a Tabulated Statement for Parsi

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Girls' Schools of Bombay; but the figures therein given do not include those for other nationalities than Parsis. The Funds amount to Rs. 72,900, invested in securities of sorts, with an annual income of Rs. 2,093, occasionally argumented by subscriptions in various shapes, such as scholarships, etc.

9.—*The Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit Libraries*: Established by Sir Dinshaw, in 1870 A.D., for the use of all nationalities. The funds amount to Rs. 13,000, with an approximate annual income of Rs. 800 from the interest and subscriptions of members.

9.—*The Late Kharshedji Nasservanji Cama Memorial Fund* for the Encouragement of Parsi Students: Established in 1884 A.D. Funds amount to Rs. 24,000, with an annual income of Rs. 1,300 augumented, from time to time, by general subscriptions.

10.—*The Jamsetji Nesservanji Petit Parsi Orphanage*: Established in 1884, A. D., by Nasarvanji Manekji Petit for the benefit of Parsi orphan boys and Parsi children of parents in indigent circumstances. A detailed account of this Institution has been given in a later Chapter. The building and lands, appertaining to the Orphanage, are valued at Rs. 6,30,797, with a Printing Press, etc., worth about Rs. 31,243. The Funds, invested in Government and other securities, and in cash, amount to Rs. 20,87,354 with an annual income of about Rs. 57,400 augmented by occasional endowments and subscriptions.

11.—*Funds for the Propagation of Religious Education among Parsis*: Established on 17th November 1903 A. D., for the benefit of Parsis only. Managed by the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trustees. Funds amount to Rs. 18,375, in cash and Government securities, with an annual income of about Rs. 1,118, supplemented from other funds and by occasional subscriptions.

12.—*The Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit Gymnasium*: Established, in 1895 A.D., for the use of all nationalities. The building and land are worth about Rs. 11,000.

13.—*Bai Ratanbai Framji Panday School*: Established, in 1898 A. D., for the use of Parsi girls and for boys under the age of twelve. The building cost Rs. 19,901. The funds amount to Rs. 31,000, invested in securities, from the annual income of which free tuition, scholarships, and prizes are given. Subscriptions are received.

14.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy the First Baronet's Translation Fund*: Established for the purpose of assisting individuals in preparing translations of foreign books appertaining to Parsis. The funds amount to Rs. 1,09,774, invested in Government securities. The Parsi Panchayat Funds Trustees have the management of the Funds.

15.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy (the First Baronet) Memorial Fund*

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for Zarathoshti Madresseh: Established for the use of Parsis only. The funds amount to Rs. 123,945 invested in Government securities and shares of the Bengal Bank, and the Bombay Municipal Bonds, from the annual income of which the Institution is maintained, by the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trustees.

16.—*The Zarthushti Din-ni-khol karnari Mandli*(='Association for Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion') Fund: An account of this Association has been given in a later Chapter. The Funds amount to Rs. 5,209, from the annual income of which the expenses are defrayed under the management of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Funds Trustees.

17.—*The Victoria Jubilee Pahalavi Fund*: Established for the use of Parsis only. The funds amount to Rs. 10,867, invested in Government securities, from the annual income of which (supplemented from other funds), manuscripts, of Pahalavi language, in possession of Dasturs and others, are printed under the supervision of a committee appointed for the purpose. The Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees have charge of the funds.

18.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsi Benevolent Institutions Schools Auxiliary Funds*: Established, for the use of Parsis only. The Funds amount to Rs. 3,000, and are open to donations and subscriptions from time to time. The Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Fund Trustees are custodians of this Fund.

19.—*The Bombay and Mofussil Zarthushti Zend Avesta Schools Funds*: Established for the use of Parsis only. The Funds amount to Rs. 46,000, supplemented by donations and subscriptions. The Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees are custodians of this Fund.

20.—*The Zarthushti Mandal for female Parsis*: Established, for the purpose of helping Parsi women in various ways, such as by training girls and women so as to enable them to earn their livelihood: for rendering medical and cognate help: for visiting poor Parsi chawls: for inducing poor parents to place their minor and grownup chilren in schools and in workclasses, with the help of funds belonging to this Association: for finding situations or work at home for mothers: for delivery of suitable lectures, etc., etc.—The funds amount to Rs. 4,921, supplemented by fixed annual subscriptions, from "helping members," and by donations and casual subscriptions. The management is in the hands of a committee of Parsi ladies.

21.—*The Jamsetjee Nesservanji Petit Institute*: Established, for the use of members of all nationalities. It consists of an extensive Library and Reading Room in a large pretty building, constructed for the purpose, with arrangement for

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ties, for medical and surgical relief, a lecture-hall. The building and land and other appurtenances cost Rs. 3,98,000. The funds,—invested in Government securities,—amount to Rs. 64,500, supplemented by fees from members of the Library and Reading Room, rents, etc. It is managed by a committee annually selected by the members. It has a permanent Board of Trustees.

22.—*The Byramjee Jejeebhoy Parsi Charitable Institution*: Established, in 1890 A.D., for the instruction of Parsis of the poor classes, enabling them evetually to join high schools and commercial training college. The building and land cost Rs. 4,00,000. The Funds amount to Rs. 2,51,000, invested in Government securities and immovable properties. Expenses are defrayed from an approximate annual income of Rs. 17,894, inclusive of grants-in-aid from Government, and donations and subscriptions from members of the family of the founder. The management is under the control of a committee.

23.—*The Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney Girls' School*: Established, in 1859 A.D., for the use of Parsis. The building cost Rs. 20,000. The school is maintained from an approximate annual income of Rs. 4,404, supplemented by donations etc. by members of the founder's family. A Government Educational Inspector inspects the school.

II.—Medical etc. Institutions.

24.—*The Bombay Native Dispensary, and the Nesservanji Manekji Petit Charitable Dispensary*: Established, in 1836 A. D., for the relief of members of all nationalities. The immoveable property is worth Rs. 77,987, and the Funds amount to Rs. 2,04,200, invested in Port Trust Bonds, Government securities, shares of the Bengal Bank, and Municipal Debentures, all yielding an annual income of about 16,100. The management is in the hands of a committee and trustees.

25.—*The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, and Annexures*: Established, in 1845 A. D., for the relief of members of all nationalities. Annexed to it are: the Bai Motlabai Wadia's Eye-Hospital, and the Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit Hospital for Women and Children, with arrangement for forty beds in each of these two: Charitable Dispensaries for Men, Women and Children as outdoor patients; the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney Eye-Hospital, the Framji Dinshaw Laboratory (established in 1891): and the Bai Avabai Mehervanji Bhaunagri Nurses' Home (built in 1891.) All these Institutions are solely under the control, supervision, and management of Government.

26.—*The Fort Charitable Dispensary*: Established in 1852 A. D. It is located in a building endowed by the widow and sons of Sorabji Kavasji Powvala, at a cost of Rs. 27,120. It is open to all nationali-

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including dental. The funds amount to Rs. 1,32, 157, invested in the Bengal Bank and the Bombay Bank shares, Municipal and Port Trust Bonds, from the income of all which investments (amounting nearly to Rs. 12,000), the Dispensary is maintained, by supplementary donations and subscriptions under the supervision of a committee of Parsis elected, every two years, by subscribers to the Fund.

27.—*The Bai Sakarbai Dinshaw Petit Hospital for Animals*: Established, in 1884 A.D., by European and Indian ladies and gentlemen. The building and lands cost Rs. 287,676. The Funds amount to Rs. 440,362, invested in Government securities, the Port Trust, the Bombay Improvement Trust, and the Bombay Municipal Bonds, and other securities. In 1909, the income was Rs. 77,932. The management is in the hands of a committee of gentlemen of all nationalities.

28.—*The Allbless Charitable Dispensary*: Established, in 1886 A.D., for the use of Parsis only. The Funds amount to Rs. 21,000. The building and lands cost Rs. 9,000. Donations etc. are received from members of the Allbless family only. The management is vested in the hands Parsi trustees.

29.—*Cama Hospital for Women and Children*; Established, in 1886 A. D., by Pestanji Hormasji Cama, C.I.E., for the use of women and children belonging to all nationalities. The hospital is in charge of a lady-doctor, who must be a European under the conditions imposed by the founder, who endowed Rs. 1,71,732, for the construction of the building etc. It is under the sole management and control of Government. Annexed to it are the following : Nos. 30 and 31.

30.—*The Allbless Obstetric Hospital*; Established, in 1890 A. D., by Bomanji Edalji Albless, for the relief of members of all nationalities. There are 30 beds.

31.—*The Jafar Suleman Charitable Dispensary* for the relief of out-door female-patients of all nationalities.

32.—*The late Bhimjibhai Jivanji Randeria Bone-Setter Fund*: Established for the purpose of maintaining two charitable institutions connected with bone-setting etc, and conducted, in the Fort, by bone-setter Meherjibhai Dhanjibhai, and, in Dhobitalao, by bone-setter Ardesir Pestanji. The fund amounts to Rs. 10,500, the annual income wherefrom is Rs. 407. It is in charge of Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds.

33.—*The Bai Baiji-mae and Jehangir Hormusji Sukhia Charitable Dispensary* : Established, in 1897, by the donors after whom it is named, for the relief of Parsis, and especially of such Parsis and their families as receive pecuniary assistance from the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds. Medical assistance is rendered, when necessary, at the residence of patients. It is under the sole management of a member of the Sukhia family, and who defrays the needful cost of its upkeep.

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34.—*The Parsi Bubonic Fever (Plague) Hospital:* Established for the relief of Parsis. It is located in a temporary structure and maintained by subscriptions from Parsis, and is under the management of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees. Bai Jarbai Naoroji Wadia has constructed a building in connection with this Institution.

35.—*The Parsi Lying-in Hospital*; Established for the use of Parsis only. A detailed account of this Institution has been given in later pages. The building and land etc., cost Rs. 142,399 plus 7,349. The funds amount to Rs. 1,21,740 plus 1,23,634. The annual income is about Rs. 30,000, by way of interest, and Rs. 34,000 from fees levied from patients. The funds are in the hands of trustees, and a committee supervises the general management.

36.—*The B.D. Petit Parsi General Hospital*: Established in 1912 A.D., for the use of Parsis only. The main bulk of its properties emanate from the liberality of Bomanji Dinshaw Petit. The buildings and lands, all endowed by him, are estimated at Rs. 19,00,000. The Funds amount to Rs. 980,000 raised by subscriptions and donations from Parsis. The management is vested in a committee of Parsis; and the medical and surgical-staff, (mostly honorary), consist of Parsis,—men and women. The funds are in charge of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds' Trustees.

37.—*The Maneckji Nesservanji Petit Charitable Dispensary*: Established for the use of members of all nationalities. The building cost Rs. 15,000. The funds amount to Rs. 13,800, invested in Government Promissory Notes and Bombay Municipal Bonds, from the interest of which, the institution is maintained.

38.—*The Nesservanji Maneckji Petit Ward of the Adams-Wyllie Memorial Hospital*: Established, in 1905 A.D., for the use of members of all nationalities. The Ward building cost Rs. 12,500, of which Rs. 10,000 were contributed by the founder of the ward, who also contributed Rs. 15,000 for its maintenance.

39.—*The Bai Motlabai Wadia Charitable Dispensary* in connection with the Adams-Wyllie Hospital: Established in 1910 A. D. The building cost Rs. 12,000. The trustees of the late Naoroji Maneckji Wadia, (a son of the lady after whom the Dispensary is named), contributed Rs. 2,000, annually, towards its up-keep.

40.—*The Dhanjibhoy Edalji Allbless Charitable Dispensary*, in connection with the Poor Parsi Residential Chawls, at Tardeo, near Grant Road.

41.—*The Bai Heerabai Beheramji Jijibhoy Charitable Dispensary*, at Tardeo, (in Bombay).

42.—*The Wadia Charitable Dispensary, at Parel*, (in Bombay).

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43.—*The Bomanji Allbless Obsteric Hospital, at Mandvi*, (Bombay).

44.—*The Bai Motlabai Jehangir Wadia Charitable Dispensary, at Mahim*, (near Bombay).

45.—*Dr. Jamshed N. Bahadurji's Poor Man's Eye Clinic:* at Byculla.

III.—Funds and Institutions for Religious Purposes.

46.— *The Baherkot Cheharam Bâg and Dharamsala:* Established for the purpose of performing religious ceremonies. The building, in connection therewith cost Rs. 25,000. An annual income of about Rs. 540, is spent in their up-keep. Two trustees manage the same.

47.—*The Bombay Kadmi Gahambar Fund:* Established in 1848 A.D. The buildings, in connection with it, are estimated at Rs. 48,800. The funds (Rs. 1,73,500), are invested in Government and other securities. The annual income is about Rs. 6,000. Trustee manage the Funds under a scheme framed by the High Court of Bombay.

48.—*The Bombay Parsi Pastagiâ Anjuman Fund:* Established, under a trust-deed in 1849 A.D., for the purpose of performing certain religious ceremonies, and for the five annual Gahambars, from the income (Rs. 950), of the landed property, in trust, and the interest, (about Rs. 350 on Rs. 10,000 invested in securities), and from subscriptions and donations.

49.—*The Bombay Kadmi Hamkar Fund*: Established, in 1852 A. D., for the performance of certain religious ceremonies of Kadmi Parsis. The funds amount to Rs. 26,500, invested in Government securities with an annual income of about Rs. 920. It is managed by trustees.

50.—*The Bombay Baherkot Bâj and Jashan Fund:* Established, in 1863 A. D,, for the purpose of performing *Baj*, *Jashan*, etc., ceremonies in the several daremehers situate in Beherkot, (Bombay). The funds amount to Rs. 20,000, invested in Government securities, with an annual income of about Rs. 700. It is managed by several trustees.

51.—*The Framji Mancherji Cama Fund for Assisting fire-temples, etc:* Established, in 1880, by a trust-deed. The object of this Fund, which amounts to Rs. 29,250, is miscellaneous in nature, *viz.*, for distribution of sandal-wood, *loban*, wood-fuel, money-gifts etc., to mobeds and others, supply of prayer-books, furniture, vessels, etc., to any of the Kadmi or Shehenshai fire-temples (large or small), all over India: for repairs etc., to any of these : occasional or periodical help to them for their upkeep, etc.

52.—*The Khetvadi Parsi Zarthushtis' Fund:* Established in 1889 A.D. The object is : to contribute towards Muktâd, Bâj, and Jashan ceremonies, to give Gahambar feasts to Parsis living in the locality of Khetwadi (Bombay) : to afford pecuniary

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relief to Poor Parsis. The Funds consist of: (1) Rs. 14,100 for the 'muktad fund'; (2) Rs. 10,000 'for baj, Jashan fund'; (3) Rs. 2,500 for 'Gahambar fund'; (4) Rs. 2,500 for 'defence fund'; such as on occasions of riot etc.: (5) Rs. 11, 600, for 'poor Parsis living in Khetvadi.' The funds are lodged with the Bank of Bombay, Rs. 49,200 being invested in Government securities. Trustees manage these Funds.

53.—*Framji Rastamji Khandalavala Fund*: Established, in 1890 A. D., for the use of Zarthushtees. The object is: to give Rs. 50 per child of a Parsi in extremely indigent circumstances, for the purpose of investing the child with sudreh-kusti: to give Rs. 35 for the performance of death-ceremonies of each Parsi (who may have lived in or out of Bombay) in extremely indigent circumstances; to defray, from one-third the income of the funds, the expense of supplying school-books and similar necessaries to Parsi children (boys and girls) in indigent circumstances. The Fund amounts to Rs. 11,000, invested in Bombay Municipal Bonds, yielding an annual income of about Rs. 550. Trustees manage the Fund.

54.—*The Hormazd Bâg*: Established for the use of Parsi Zarthushtees. This building is situated in Khetvadi, (Bombay). Under a trust-deed, it is available for use, on occasions such as gahambars, jashans, and meeting of Parsis. On the vacant land belonging to, and adjoining the Bâg, Shapurji Sorabji, one of the trustees of it, has undertaken to erect, through the trustees of the Bag, some chawls for the occupation of poor Parsis, by investing the sum of Rs. 8,000.

55.—*The Shâhânshâhi Gahambar Fund*: It is in charge of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Funds Trustees. It amounts to Rs. 1,04,100, invested in Government securities. The income from these investments, supplemented from other funds, amounts to Rs. 5,000 per year.

56.—*Fund in connection with the conveying of deceased Parsis to the towers of silence*: The object of the Fund is to defray expenses: (*a*) of conveying the bodies of Parsis to dokhmas: (*b*) of repairs, extensions, etc. of dokhmas, sagdis, nasakhanas (= 'residences for corpse-bearers') and for similar contingencies; (*c*) of erecting, in Bombay, new dokhmas, sagdis, nasakhanas, etc. and of defraying expenses in connection therewith. The funds amount to Rs. 4,60,910, invested in Government securities, Port Trust Bonds, Bombay Municipal Bonds, with a small surplus, in cash, in hand. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 35,300. The fund is in charge of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees.

57.—*Fund for the Daily Performance of Prayers in the Sagdi* appertaining to the Dokhmas in Bombay: The Fund amounts to Rs. 35,000, invested in Government securities, Port Trust and Municipal Bonds. The annual income, supplemented from

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other funds, is about Rs. 2,798. It is managed by the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees.

58.—*Funds in connection with Dokhmas, and Lands* appertaining to them: The object appears to be to meet, from the income thereof, the expense entailed in connection with the dokhmas and the lands appertaining to them. The fund amounts to Rs. 1,07,600, invested in Government securities. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 5,965. The Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds are custodians.

59.—*Fund for repairs to Dokhmas*: Rs. 10,000 have been invested in Government securities, yielding an annual income, which is supplemented from other funds. It is in charge of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds Trustees.

60.—*Fund for the conveyance, to dokhmas, of the bodies of poor Parsis* and for the performance of their four days' Death Ceremonies. The fund amounts to Rs. 8,000 invested in Government securities and Port Trust Bonds. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 1,847. It is in charge of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds.

61.—*Fund for investing poor Parsi children with Sudreh Kusti:* Established, in 1891 A.D., by Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit. The fund amounts to Rs. 156,000 invested in Government securities and Port Trust Bonds. The annual income is supplemented from other funds. It is in charge of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds.

IV.—Institutions and Funds for Miscellaneous Purposes.

62.—*Fund for the Amelioration of the Condition of poor Zoroastrians residing in Persia*: Established, in 1855, by the Parsi community of India. The fund amounts to Rs. 3,33,800, invested in Government securities, yielding an annual income of about Rs. 12,000. It is in charge of, and is managed by, a committee with the assistance of three trustees. A paid agent, from Bombay, is stationed in Persia to assist the committee in administering the funds in the requisite manner. See the foregoing Chapter in connection with Zoroastrians in Persia.

63.—*Mehervanji Framji Panday's Dharmasala*: Established in 1886 A.D. It is situated in Karelvadi (Bombay). For the exclusive use of Parsis who make a sojourn in Bombay from upcountry stations. It is under the management of trustees.

64.—*The Nasarvanji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund*: Established in 1855 A.D., for the use mainly of Parsis. The invested fund amounts to Rs. 1,69,050, with an annual income of about Rs. 5,917. It is managed by a committee, who are all members of the Cama family.

65.—*Rustomji Dhanjishah Paptain Charity Fund*: Established, in 1878 A. D., for the use of Parsis, with the object of affording pecuniary relief to: (*a*) members of the founder's

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family, in preference to others, (*b*) to other members of the Parsi community who may be in indigent circumstances. The fund amounts to Rs. 110,500, invested in Government securities and Port Trust Bonds with an annual income of Rs, 3,870, administered by trustees.

66.—*The Khurshedji Nasarvanji Cama Memorial Fund* for the encouragement of Zoroastrian Students : Established in 1885 A. D., under a trust-deed, with the object of assisting Parsi students with books, scholarships, etc. The fund amounts to Rs. 35,000 invested in Government and other securities, yielding an annual income of about Rupees 1,275, supplemented by subscriptions. The management is in the hands of a committee.

67.—*Fund for Poor Parsi Residential Quarters* : Established in 1887 A. D., for the use of poor Parsis. The object is manifold : (*a*) erecting or purchasing buildings on suitable sites : (*b*) renting them to Parsis whose income is very limited, so as to meet merely the expense of paying Municipal taxes and insurance charges : (*c*) to devote the residue and donations and subscriptions to the erection of similar residential quarters. Rules have been framed for perpetuating the memory of donors, by means of suitable tablets. The funds, invested in Government securities, Port Trust Bonds, and Municipal Debentures, amount to Rs. 195,347. Upto the year 1915, the properties have been valued at Rs. 5,80, 277. The annual average income from rents is about Rs. 15,781. The scheme is under the management of a committee, assisted by five trustees.

68.—*The Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Zoroastrian Association* : Established, in 1898 A.D., for the benefit of Parsi employees of that Railway, on the lines of a Death-Benefit Fund. The funds amount to Rs. 66,100 invested in Government securities and Municipal Bonds, and Rs. 3,799, in cash, in the Bank of Bombay. The annual income, upto 1909, by way of interest has been Rs. 2,414, and about Rs. 10,000. from fees collected from members. The Association is in the hands of a committee.

69.—*The Nesservanji Maneckji Petit Home for Parsee Widows :* Established, in 1891 A. D., by Bai Dinbai N. M. Petit. It is located in a building in Modikhana, in Fort, and is valued at Rs. 1,00,000. The fund, appertaining to it, is about Rs. 8,681, partly invested in Government securities and partly is in cash. The annual income from rents and interest, is about Rs. 1,042. The management is in the hands of a committee.

70.—*Fund for the Relief of poor Parsi Widows in Bombay :* Established by subscriptions from Parsis. The Fund amounts to Rs. 58,000 invested in Government securities, Port Trust, Bombay City Improvement Trust, and Bombay Municipal Bonds, with about Rs. 1,539 in cash. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, amounts to about

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Rs. 6833. The Fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet Trusts Funds.

71.—*Bai Hamabai Maneckji Nesservanji Petit Home for Parsi Widows:* Established by Bai Dinbai Nesservanji Petit. A small monthly rental of annas eight is charged. The building is valued at Rs, 1,15,500. The Fund amounts to Rs. 30,500, invested in Government securities and Port Trust Bonds. The annual income from interest is about Rs. 1,070. The institution and the fund are in charge of Bai Hamabai Framji Dinshah Petit.

72.—*The Nesservanji Maneckji Petit Fund for the Relief of Insane poor Parsis:* Established, in 1892 A. D., by Bai Dinbai Nesservanji Petit. The object is to defray the expense of maintaining poor Parsi lunatics located in the Government Lunatic Asylum at Colaba (Bombay). The fund amounts to Rs. 83,400, invested in Government securities, Port Trust Bonds, and Municipal Bonds, with a surplus cash of about Rs. 4,681. The yearly income has been Rs. 2,927, supplemented by a sum of Rs. 2,203, raised by subscriptions and donations up to the year 1907 A. D. The fund is managed by a committee of Parsis.

73.—*Fund for a monthly stipend of Rs. 5 to be disbursed for each poor Parsi Lunatic in the Colaba Lunatic Asylum:* Established by subscriptions from Parsis. The object is to assist the Asylum by contributing these stipends for the special benefit of poor Parsis. The fund amounts to Rs. 3,200, invested in Government securities and Port Trust Bonds. The annual income supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 1,228. The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Trust Funds have charge of this Fund.

74.—*The Bombay Zoroastrians Death Benefit Fund:* Established, in 1889 A.D., for Parsis living in Bombay and its suburbs. The object of the fund is: (*a*) to meet the expense of death-ceremonies, (*b*) to afford pecuniary assistance to the family of its deceased members, or to any one deputed by a member. The fund, up to 1910, amounted Rs. 1,65,000, invested in Government securities, Port Trust, and City Improvement Trust Bonds, with a surplus of about Rs. 2,208 in cash. The annual income, upto the year ending 1909, has been: (*a*) Rs. 76,401, by way of monthly subscriptions from members, (*b*) Rs. 8,009, interest on investments, and (*c*) Rs. 227, miscellaneous income. The total income has been Rs. 84,637. The Fund is managed by a committee of Parsis.

75.—*The Framji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund:* Established, in 1892 A. D., by Framji Mancherji Cama, for the benefit of all nationalities. The object is to afford relief to: (*a*) such members, of the family descended from Camaji Kuvarj, as are unable to maintain themselves, or are in needy circumstances, (*b*) to deserving Parsis in Bombay and out of it, (*c*) to such members of other

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nationalities as are in poor, indigent, disabled, or diseased condition, (*d*) to subscribe to funds raised elsewhere for the purpose of giving relief to old, infirm, blind, disabled, leprous and otherwise diseased persons, or of helping poor students in prosecuting their studies, or in acquiring knowledge of arts and crafts, without distinction of caste, (*e*) to provide medicine and care for sick, domesticated animals, (*f*) to subscribe to funds raised elsewhere in connection with Atash-Beherams, dokhmas, and other cognate religious institutions. The properties belonging to this Fund consist of lands which are rented out on leases. The cash amounts are invested in Government securities. The annual income from the rents is about Rs. 6,900 Several Parsis,—members of the Cama family,—manage the funds as trustees.

76.—*Fund for helping poor Parsi girls on occasion of their marriage*: Established, in 1895 A. D., from general subscriptions of Parsis. The object is to pay Rs. 75 per each such Parsi girl as is about to get married. The fund amounts to Rs. 13,900, invested in Government securities, Port Trust, Improvement Trust and Bombay Municipal Trust Bonds. The annual income, supplemented by contributions from other funds, is about Rs. 3,357. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet Trusts Funds.

77.—*Fund for supply of food-grains to Bombay poor Parsis*: Established, in 1896 A. D., for the use of Parsis only, with the object of supplying food-grains to poor Parsis free of charge, and during famine times, to sell the same at reduced rates, or to distribute them gratis to them, either from the income of the fund, or, if need be, from the capital of the fund. Subscriptions and donations are received. The fund amounts to Rs. 23,200, invested in Government securities, with an annual income,—supplemented from other funds of about Rs. 809. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet Trusts Funds.

78.—*Dorabji Dinshah Captain's Charity Fund*: Established by him, in 1886 A. D., for the benefit of Parsis only. Members of the founder's family are to have precedence over other Parsis, in case they need pecuniary help. The fund amounts to Rs. 16.500 invested in Government securities, yielding annual income of about Rs. 577. It is managed by Trustees,

79.—*The 1896-1897 Famine Fund for Parsis* obtaining stipends from the Parsi Panchayet Trusts Funds: Established for rendering further assistance during the famine of 1896-97, to such poor Parsis as received stipends from the Parsi Panchayet Trust Funds. The fund amounted, in 1907, to Rs. 1,272, in cash and in Government securities, yielding an income of about Rs. 227. It is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet Trusts Funds.

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80.—*Fund for supplying, gratis, food-grains to poor Parsis*: Established, in 1889 A. D., by Beheramji Pestanji Palkhivala. The fund amounts to Rs. 13,500 invested in Government securities, the interest on which is about Rs. 472 per annum. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trusts Funds.

81.—*Fund for Supply of food-grains to Parsis residing in the mofussil*: Established, in 1900 A. D., by general subscriptions, during famine time. Both the capital and the interest accruing thereon, are to be utilized. In times, when there is no famine, Parsis in indigent circumstances, are to be helped for the purpose of purchasing food-grains for them. The fund amounts to Rs. 7,971, in cash and in Government securities. The annual income is about Rs. 262. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trusts Funds.

82.—*The Parsi Association*: Established, in 1903 A.D., with the object of ameliorating the condition of poor Parsis, not by distributing help in cash, but by opening work classes for Parsis out of employment, for such as are in need of pecuniary assistance for the purpose of setting them up in some line of business. The fund amounts to about Rs. 67,584. invested in Trust securities, shares of the Zoroastrian Building Society, Ltd., and by way of deposit in the Bank of Bombay. The income is about Rs. 7,000, per annum, and is supplemented by subscriptions and donations. The Fund is in charge of Parsi trustees.

83.—*The Zoroastrian Building Fund*: Established in 1906 A. D., for the benefit of Parsis only. The object is to provide residential quarters on low rentals. The Fund is invested in Zoroastrian Building Fund shares and amounts to Rs. 1,50,000. The annual income of about Rs. 6000 is handed over to the Zoroastrian Building Society, Ltd., to be utilized towards the reduction of rents payable by poor Parsi tenants. The management is in the hands of Parsi trustees.

84.—*Fund for Relief of Parsi Pastagias in straitened circumstances*: Established, in 1907 A. D. for rendering help to poor Parsi *Pastagias* (=grocers) and their families, to their children for purposes of their education. The amount of the fund is not known. It is in charge of Parsi trustees.

85.—*Fund for the maintenance of blind, the halt and poor Parsis* in the Chowpaty Dharamsala in Bombay: Established, in 1222 A. Y. by the relatives of Kharshedji Ardesir Dadiseth, and by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Kt., C. I. E. The fund amounts to Rs. 1,18,622, partly in cash, and major portion invested in Government securities, Port Trust, and the Bombay Municipal Bonds. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 12,064. It is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds.

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86.—*Fund for the distribution of money-gifts to blind, maimed and poor Parsis of the mofussil, on occasion of the Muktad days*: The fund amounts to Rs. 93,500, invested in Government securities, Port Trust, and the Bombay Municipal Bonds, and Rs. 1,007 in cash. The annual income is about Rs. 9,400. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trusts Funds.

87.—*Fund for the distribution of money-gifts to blind, maimed, and poor Parsis (residing any where) on the occasion of the Muktad Days*: The fund amounts to Rs. 10,712, invested in Government securities and Bombay Municipal Bonds. The annual income, supplmented from other funds, is about Rs. 11000. The fund is in charge of the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trusts Funds.

88.—*Fund for stipends to blind, maimed and poor Parsis residing in Bombay*: The fund amounts to Rs. 2,68.296, invested in Government securities, Port Trust Bonds and Rs. 2,567 in cash. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 28,000. The fund is in charge of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds.

89.—*Fund for rendering pecuniary assistance to Parsis in straitened circumstances*: Established by donations etc. from Parsis. The object of the fund is to render pecuniary assistance to such Parsi of respectable families who, after being in affluent circumstances, have been reduced to poverty. The help is given in lump sums or by yearly stipends. The fund amounts to Rs. 41,700, invested in Government securities, Port Trust Bonds, and about Rs. 1,027 in cash. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 6,134. The management is vested in the hands of the Trustees of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Trusts Funds.

90.—*Fund to be utilized for such purposes as may be deemed beneficial in the interest of any works of Charity*: Established by subscriptions from Parsis. The object of this fund appears to be to vest in the trustees of the Parsi Panchaya Funds, the option of rendering assistance to any work of charity undertaken for the welfare of the Parsi community. The fund amounts to Rs. 18,000, invested in Government securities and Rs. 4,372 in cash. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, is about Rs. 4,470.

91.—*The General Charity Fund No. 1*: Established by donations from Parsis. The object of this fund is to enable the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds,—who have charge of it,—to defray the expense of any work the trustees may deem necessary to, and for which no particular fund, in their charge, has been devoted, and also to meet the expense of the mangement of several Funds in charge of these trustees, and any other expense in particular. This fund amounts to Rs. 1,89,452,

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consisting of Bengal Bank shares, Government securities, Port Trust Bonds, some landed property, and cash. The annual income, supplemented from other funds, amounts to Rs. 21,878.

92.—*The General Charity Fund No. 2* :—Established and maintained by donations from Parsis. The object is to enable the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds to utilize the income therefrom towards any work relating to the Parsi community. The fund amounts to Rs. 4,000 invested in Government securities and about Rs. 235 in cash. The annual income is about Rs. 1,448.

93.—*The Parsi sankat nivaran Fund* : Established for the purpose of giving relief to Parsis who happen to be in immediate need of any kind of help. The fund amounts to Rs. 49,214, invested in Government securities, and part of it (about Rs. 3,814) in cash. The annual income is about Rs. 2,453. The Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Trust Funds have charge of this Fund.

94.—*The Framji Kavasji Banaji Fund in connection with watersupply and wells* : The fund is in charge of Government, under ea schem framed by the High Court of Bombay, in Suit No. 120 of 1907, between the Advocate General and Limji N. Banaji and others. The object of this fund is to contribute, from the income thereof, towards constructing, deepening, and repairing wells in the Thana zilla, (Bombay Presidency), and in the island of Salsette, in connection with their Local Board. In case of any such works costing Rs. 1000 from this fund, a tablet bearing Framji Kavasji Banaji's name is to be affixed to such wells. The amount of the Fund is not known at present.

95.—*Naoroji Maneckji Wadia, C.I.E.'s Trusts* : This Trust amounts to over one crore of Rupees. The trustor, Mr. Wadia, appointed certain trustees with an annual allowance to them. The income from the trusts is to be utilized after the trustor's death for any purpose whatsoever the said trustees may deem useful or necessary. In any part of the world, relief may be sent, such as on occasions of conflagrations, floods, and similar catastrophes. The charity is to be without any distinction of caste, creed, or nationality. The object is unique, and never before has any Parsi founded such a Trust, so comprehensive in its scheme. The Trusts comprise landed properties extensively situated all over Bombay, and in securities of sorts.

V.—Dharamshalas and other Buildings for the use of Parsis.

96.—*Kharshedji Kavasji Banaji's Dharamshala, at Chowpaty, Bombay.*

97.—*Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Baronet's Dharamshald, at Byculla, Jombay.*

98.—*Rastamji Jamshedji Jejeebhoy's Dharamshala at Grant Road, Bombay.*

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99.—*The Allbless Bág*: In Girgaum, Bombay, in charge of the heirs of Edalji Framji Allbless. It is used by Parsis, mostly for performance of marriage and Navjot ceremonies.

100.—*Sir Jamshedji Jejeebhoy Baronet's "Alahi Bag"*: Used exclusively by Parsis for holding Gahambar feasts. All the Gahambars, for which the first Baronet has endowed a large sum of money, are held in this Bág.

131.—*Pálanji Kharshedji Cama's "Cama-Bag"*: Used, by Parsis exclusively, mostly for performance of marriage and navjot ceremonies. The premises, built by Palonji Kharshedji Cama, consist of a daremeher, and two bungallows and accommodation for holding dinners. They were opened on 5th June 1869 at a cost of one lakh of Rupees, with Rs. 40,000, set apart for their up-keep. See *Parsi Prakash*, vol. II, p. 448.

102.—*Framji Kavasji Banaji Institute*: There is a Public Library and Reading Room in the building of this Institute, and they are open to subscribers of all nationalities. A public hall is also provided in the building, and is used for purposes of lectures etc. by members of Societies etc., relating to all communities. For a history of the founding of this building etc. See *Parsi Prakash*.

103.—*Shapurji Mancherji Bottlevalla's Wadi at Khetvadi, Bombay*: Used, by Parsis only, on various occasions, such as marriage, navjot, dinners of sorts, etc.

104.—*Manekji Naoroji Seth's Wádi*: In Fort, Bombay. Used generally for purpose of marriage, navjot, dinners, etc.

105.—*Palanj Dorabji Meherji's Building*, in Baherkot Bombay.

106.—*Mehervanji Framji Panday's "Mehervan Bag."*

107.—*Hormasji Pestanji Bottlevala's Wádi*: in Khetvadi Bombay.

108.—*Dhanjibhai Framji Reading Room and Library*: in Khetwadi Bombay.

109.—*The Jamshedji Nesservanji Petit Gymnasium*: in Khetwadi Bombay.

110.—*The Jamshedji Nesserwanji Petit Library*: in Girgaon, Bombay.

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APPENDIX III.

Charities by Parsis.

[The Table, printed on next page, has been prepared by me, shewing how much individual members of the Parsi community have subscribed for charitable and other purposes,—including those for their own co-religionists as well as for those of other castes and creeds,—from year to year, since the year 1861 down to the year 1915 A. D.

The total for each year has been made up from details furnished in the pages of the two volumes of *Parsi Prakash*, and in those of the *Zoroastrian Calendars* published, each year, by Mr M. H. Jagosh, of the *Bombay Vartman Press*.

The details for the figures for the years 1861 A. D. to 1880 A. D. have been used from *Parsi Prakash* volumes, and those for the years 1881 A.D., to 1915 from the *Zoroastrian Calendars*.

I may mention here that complete statistics of this kind have never been published ere this. There has been many and many an institution such as *agiàri*, *dharamsàlà*, reservoir, tank, well, *dokhmà*, and other buildings and structures, the cost of which has not been announced or recorded on the pages of any books, or in family-account books made accessible to inquirers after information of this nature; so that, the average of *one lakh* of rupees per *month* at which I arrive from the last fifty-five years' charities etc., would be greatly argumented if the figures above referred to were also available.—M.M.M.]

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Year	Rupees	Year	Rupees
1861	3,39,955	1899	13,46,365
1862	4,19,795	1900	11,20,099
1863	16,41,755*	1901	13,91,147
1864	15,70,148*	1902	10,99,891
1865	10,71,545*	1903	6,20,813
1866	5,85,945	1904	5,10,339
1867	2,90,140	1905	8,92,537
1868	4,38,484	1906	16,49,093
1869	3,49,985	1907	30,00,835
1870	2,94,857	1908	34,90,895
1871	2,18,777	1909	1,60,04,419†
1872	7,51,813	1910	20,38,358
1873	75,219	1911	21,00,000††
1874	63,172	1912	17,75,000††
1875	2,71,049	1913	19,00,000††
1876	48,789	1914	18,75,000††
1877	1,43,365	1915	18,75,000††
1878	1,13,235		
1879	80,834	Grand Total	Rs. 67,556,599
1880	85,535		
1881	1,71,994		
1882	2,77,594		
1883	5,51,275		
1884	3,01,116		
1885	3,01,539		
1886	5,31,868		
1887	3,39,672		
1888	18,78,727		
1889	5,93,032		
1890	10,85,126		
1891	14,30,920		
1892	14,78,618		
1893	11,35,239		
1894	10,33,026		
1895	16,07,861		
1896	10,35,892		
1897	8,62,596		
1898	14,96,316		

*[The 'Share-mania' years of Bombay.—M.M.M.]

† [Including: (1) one crore rupees put into trust by the late Naoroji Manekji Wadia, C. I. E., for the purpose of charity all over the world, (2) thirty lakhs of rupees by Jamshedji N. Tata for the Research Institute at Bangalore, (3) twelve lakhs by Miss Hamabai Framji D. Petit for a Parsi Girls' Orphanage.—M.M.M.]

†† [These are approximate figures, as it is some-what difficult to cast up totals for these years, till accounts of all Charitable etc. Institutions come to hand. But the figures will not, even then, fall short of those given here.—M.M.M.]

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APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF TABLES OF STATISTICS.

Table A.—Parsi Population, according to Census taken, on 1st February 1864, in the City of Bombay.

Table B.—Parsi Population, in the Bombay Presidency, according to the Census of 1872.

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Table F.—Parsi Population, in the whole of India, Aden, Andaman Islands, Straits Settlements, China, and Japan, according to the Census of 1911.

Table G.—Comparative Abstract shewing Population of Parsi Males and Females in various Provinces of India, in Burma, Ceylon, China, Japan, and the Straits Settlements, according to the Census of 1901 and of 1911.

Table H.—Abstract shewing total Population of Parsi Males and Females, according to the Census of 1864, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 A.D.

Table J.—Shewing Population of Parsi Males and Females in the several cities, town etc. of each of the Provinces and Indian States, and in Burma, Ceylon, Japan, and the Straits Settlements, according to the Census of 1911 A.D.

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TABLE A

Shewing Parsi Population

According to the Census, taken on the 1st of February

1864

in the City of Bombay.

[Taken and placed here by me from *Parsi Prakash*, Vol. II, p. 95.—M.M.M.]

Names of Localities.	Males.	Females.	Names of Localities.	Males.	Females.
Colaba ...	313	283	Khetwadi ...	1788	1320
Fort ...	11011	8670	Girgaon ...	174	112
Esplanade ...	1	...	Chaupati ...	129	132
Market ...	3093	2788	Walkeshwar ...	345	224
Mandvi ...	24	22	Mahalakshmi ...	290	155
Chaklà ...	286	276	Mazagaon ...	733	571
Umarkhadi ...	154	145	Parel ...	169	86
Doongri ...	14	...	Sewri ...	21	5
Dhobi Talao ...	7222	4568	Sim ...	76	14
Fanasvadi ...	338	289	Mahim ...	294	357
Bhooleshvar ...	792	487	Worlee ...	4	1
Khara Talao ...	282	180	In the Harbour ...	4	...
Koombhàrvàdà ...	238	206	Total Number of Parsis ...	28,098	21,103
Kàmàtipurà ...	303	212			

Classified according to age, the figures are as follows:

	Male Parsis.	Female Parsis.
Under two years of age ...	893	798
Between the years of 2 to 13 ...	5873	5749
Between the years of 14 to 44 ...	16486	10796
Over the age of 44	4846	3760
Total	28098	21103

The proportion of Males to Females was as 133 males to 100 females (Parsis.)

Classified according to profession etc., there were:

7180—Writers, clerks, etc.
6149—Merchants, Traders & Shroffs.
5906—Carpenters & Artisans.
5332—Domestic servants.
3580—Mobeds (or priests).
3117—Those living on the income of their estates & their capital.
17937—Out of employment & minors.

49201. Total

Of these, no Parsi was returned as mendicant. 139 were returned disabled. of which 28 were recorded as lunatics, 20 deaf and dumb, 39 blind, 52 and crippled.

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TABLE B

Shewing Parsi Population in the Bombay Presidency

According to the Census of

1872.

[Placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

Total Population—75,699 Parsis

Of whom 38,477 males, 37,222 females ; 69,826 Shâhânshâhi and 5,013 Kadmi.

Names of Towns & Districts.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Bombay city and suburbs ...	23111	20980	44091
Surat ...	5972	6869	12841
Broach ...	1539	1577	3116
Kheda ...	41	27	68
Panch-Mahal ...	12	5	17
Ahmedabad ...	280	202	482
Khandesh ...	42	19	61
Nasik ...	94	36	130
Ahmednagar ...	49	42	91
Poona ...	699	544	1243
Satara ...	55	29	84
Sholapur ...	35	27	62
Belgaum ...	49	33	82
Dharwar ...	7	6	13
Canara ...	11	14	25
Ratnagiri ...	8	1	9
Kolaba ...	20	5	25
Thana ...	1686	1502	3188
Karachi ...	427	350	777
Hyderabad (Sindh).	26	19	45
Shikarpur ...	22	17	39
Frontier north of Sindh ...	7	2	9
Indian States ...	3814	4527	8341
Civil Cantonments of Indian States & Aden ...	471	389	860
TOTAL ...	38,477	37,222	75,699

Details of Indian States.			
Names.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Naosari ...	3052	4011	7063
Other Baroda towns	183	90	273
Kathiawad ...	25	9	34
Revakantha ...	120	78	198
Mahikantha ...	6	3	9
Khambat ...	54	53	107
Dharampore ...	146	108	254
Bansda ...	130	80	210
Sacheen ...	78	75	153
Cutch ...	20	20	40
TOTAL ...	3814	4527	8341

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TABLE C

Shewing the Parsi Population in the Bombay Presidency

According to the Census of

1881.

[Placed here by me.—M. M. M.]

Total Population = 74,209 Parsis

(Of whom 38,033 Males, 36,176 Females; Shahanshahi 68,356 and Kadmi 5,853.)

Names of Towns & Districts.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Bombay City & suburbs ...	25315	23282	48597
Surat ...	5779	6814	12593
Broach ...	1444	1598	3042
Kheda ...	79	52	131
Punchmahals ...	21	9	30
Ahmedabad ..	378	274	652
Khandesh ...	93	65	158
Nassik ..	164	124	288
Ahmednagar ..	87	92	179
Poona ...	861	713	1574
Sholapur ...	77	80	157
Satara ...	62	37	99
Thana ...	1658	1657	3315
Kolaba ...	25	8	33
Ratnagiri ...	12	4	16
Belgaum ...	45	19	64
Dharwar ...	20	11	31
Kaladgi ...	10	16	26
Canara ...	9	8	17
Karachi ...	540	429	969
Hyderabad ...	13	8	21
Shikarpur ...	44	20	64
Frontier north of Sindh ...	8	1	9
Indian States ...	1125	783	1908
Aden ...	164	72	236
Total ...	38,033	36,176	74,209

Details of Indian States.

Names.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Cutch ...	27	15	42
Palanpur .	92	115	207
Mahikantha ...	4	1	5
Kathiawad ...	285	204	489
Revankantha ...	133	87	200
Khambat ...	59	60	119
Indian States of Surat Agency ...	463	287	750
Konkan ...	30	2	32
Deccan ...	32	12	44
Total ...	1125	783	1908
Baroda State (according to Census by the State itself) ...	1629	2554	4183

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TABLE D [1]

Of the Parsi Population in the Bombay Presidency [2]

According to the Census of

1891

Names of Towns and Districts.	Not Married.		Married. (3)		Widowers and Widows.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Bombay city	14091	10153	9804	9258	810	3342	47458
Ahmedabad	230	175	203	175	12	40	835
Kheda	49	31	39	27	...	7	153
Panch-Mahal	43	15	40	13	3	3	108
Bharuch	754	623	702	865	70	259	3273
Surat	2990	2535	2597	3212	266	1157	12757
Thana	1001	802	845	860	78	334	3920
Kolaba	39	29	51	32	7	9	167
Ratnagiri	6	3	4	2	...	...	15
Kanara	1	...	8	...	1	...	10
Khandeish	119	73	199	99	10	8	508
Nasik	127	77	108	75	6	14	407
Ahmednagar	51	45	41	37	5	10	188
Poona	622	476	402	386	42	98	2026
Sholapoor	67	59	54	41	3	8	232
Satara	32	40	29	24	1	8	134
Belgaum	17	3	22	15	1	3	61
Dharwar	37	23	40	41	2	2	135
Bijapur	8	4	5	4	1	2	24
Karachi	424	301	310	282	26	65	1408
Hyderabad	17	10	11	8	...	...	46
Shikarpur	20	9	27	12	1	2	71
Thar and Parkar	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Upper Sindh	2	..	3	2	1	...	8
TOTAL ...	20738	15486	15545	15459	1346	5371	73945
Indian States ...	606	480	761	495	55	114	2511
Aden ...	88	37	138	40	8	7	318
GRAND TOTAL ...	21432	16003	16444	15994	1409	5492	76774

1. [This table appears in the French edition.—M.M.M.]

2. See *Zoroastrian Calendar* for 1892-93, p. 126.

3. The disproportion between the two sexes is explained by the general custom, which did not allow the Parsi employes to bring their wives to the localities where they are employed.

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TABLE D—(*Contd.*)

Details of Indian States.

Names.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Cutch ...	64	54	118
Palanpur ...	96	109	205
Mahikantha ...	5	3	8
Kathiawad ...	524	384	908
Revakantha ...	228	158	386
Khambat ...	68	69	137
Under Surat Agency ...	352	266	618
Janjira ...	31	15	46
Dang ...	34	15	49
Kolahpur ...	12	12	24
Southern Maharatha Jagirs ...	8	4	12
TOTAL ...	1422	1089	2511
Baroda State : according to the Census of the State itself ...	3585	4621	8206

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TABLE E[1]

Shewing the Parsi Population in the whole of India, Aden, Andaman Islands, Straits Settlements, China, and Japan

According to the Census of

1901.

[Placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

Names of Presidencies in India : and of localities out of India.	Male.	Female.	TOTAL.
City of Bombay	22277	21954	46231
Bombay Presidency (excluding the city of Bombay.)	15969	16352	32321
Aden	254	74	328
Madras Presidency	195	161	356
Bengal Presidency	221	146	367
United Provinces	343	236	579
Punjab	457	291	748
Baluchistan	90	76	166
Ajmer-Marwar	88	74	162
Central Provinces	451	439	980
Berar Province	341	189	530
Assam Province	3	...	3
Burma	162	87	249
Baroda (Indian State)	3712	4697	8409
Rajputana (Indian States) ...	199	140	339
Central India Agency (Indian States) ...	492	427	919
Gowalior (Indian State)	9	...	9
Kashmir...	8	3	11
Hyderabad (Indian State) ...	814	649	1463
Mysore (Indian State)	59	42	101
Travancore (Indian State) ...	5	2	7
Andaman Islands	2	...	2
Ceylon	55	40	95
Straits Settlements	6	...	6
China	134	13	147
Japan	11	...	11
TOTAL ...	48447	46092	94539

1. [Table E has been inserted here by me. It is taken from the Bombay Parsi Panchayat Reports (containing the Accounts &c. of Charitable Institutions in charge of the Panchayat) for the year 1st November 1900 to 31st October 1901. The figures for Bombay City, the Bombay Presidency, and other places in India, have been furnished by the Census officers of Government. The figures for the Census for Ceylon have been furnished by Mr Mancherji Framji Jehangir Khan. For the Straits Settlements, China and Japan, the figures have been taken from the *Kaesar-e-Hind* (weekly, Anglo-Gujarati newspaper of Bombay), of 19th January, 1902, as supplied by its correspondent on the 30th of December, 1901.—M.M.M.]

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TABLE F

Shewing the Parsi Population in the whole of India, Aden, Andaman Islands, Straits Settlements, China, and Japan

According to Census of

1911.

Total Population = 100,096.

Of whom 51,123 Males, 48,973 Females;

[Table prepared by me.—M.M.M.]

Names of Districts.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Details of Indian States In	Male.	Female.	Total.
Ajmere-Merwara ..	134	128	262	Assam ...	...	...	...
Andaman and Nicobar ...	...	...	...	Baluchistan ...	3	1	4
Assam ...	5	...	5	Baroda ...	3420	4535	7955
Baluchistan ...	93	73	166	Bengal ...	1	...	1
Bengal ...	402	208	610	Behar & Orissa ...	...	...	...
Behar ...	15	8	23	Bombay ...	1333	1252	2585
Orissa ...	...	...	...	Central India Agency ...	689	641	1330
Chhota Nagpur ...	10	2	12	Central Provinces...	21	8	29
Bombay Zilla ...	39943	38242	78185	Hyderabad ...	822	707	1529
Sindh ...	1259	1152	2411	Kashmir ...	22	9	31
Aden ...	268	116	384	Madras ...	4	2	6
Burma ...	195	105	300	Mysore ...	55	46	101
Central Provinces...	710	487	1197	N. W. Frontier ...	...	...	...
Berar ...	321	210	521	Punjab ...	20	7	27
Coorg ...	16	18	34	Rajputana Agency	191	151	342
Madras ...	249	239	488	Sikim ...	1	...	1
N. W. Frontier ...	41	8	49	United Provinces ...	...	...	...
Punjab ...	376	250	626				
Agra ...	394	295	689				
Oudh ...	110	73	183				
TOTAL ...	44541	41614	86155	TOTAL ...	6582	7359	13941

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TABLE G

Shewing a comparison of Population of Parsi Males and Females in all the Provinces of India, Indian States and Agencies, Burma, Ceylon, China, Japan, the Straits Settlements: according to Census of

1901 and 1911.

[Table placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

Names of Provinces etc.	1901.			1911.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Bombay city ...	24,277	21,954	46,231	26,764	24,167	50,931
,, Presidency ...	40,246	38,306	78,552	39,943	38,242	78,185
Sindh ...	...	...	...	1259	1152	2411
Aden ...	254	74	328	268	116	384
Madras Presidency ...	195	161	356	249	239	488
Bengal Presidency ...	221	146	367	402	208	610
Behar & Orissa ...	...	...	...	25	10	35
United Provinces ...	343	236	579	504	368	872
Punjab ...	457	291	748	376	250	626
Baluchistan (British) ...	90	76	166	93	73	166
North-West Frontier ...	...	...	...	41	8	49
Ajmer-Merwara ...	88	74	162	134	128	262
Central Provinces ...	541	439	980	710	487	1197
Berars ...	341	189	530	321	210	531
Coorg ...	...	...	...	16	18	34
Assam ...	3	0	3	5	0	5
Burma ...	162	87	249	195	105	300
Indian States and Agencies:						
Baroda ...	3712	4697	8409	3420	4535	7955
Other States (in Bombay.)	...	...	...	1333	1252	2585
Rajputana Agency ...	199	140	339	191	151	342
Central India Agency ...	492	427	919	689	641	1330
Central India States ...	...	...	...	21	8	29
Bengal ...	...	...	...	1	0	1
Gowaliar ...	9	0	9	39	37	75
States in Madras ...	...	...	...	4	2	6
Sikim ...	...	...	...	1	0	1
Cashmere ...	8	3	11	22	9	31
Baluchistan ...	...	...	...	3	1	4
Hydrabad ...	814	649	1463	822	707	1529
States in the Punjab ...	...	...	...	20	7	27
Mysore ...	59	42	101	55	46	101
Travancore ...	5	2	7	...	...	...
Andamans ...	2	0	2	0	0	0
Ceylon ...	55	40	95	108	75	183
Straits Settlements ...	6	0	6	12	2	14
China ...	134	13	147	132	23	155
Japan ...	11	0	11	20	4	24

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TABLE H.

ABSTRACT

Shewing Total Population of Parsi Males and Females according to Census of 1864, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 A.D.

1. [Table inserted here by me.—M.M.M.]

Census year	Names of Localities.	TOTAL POPULATION.		
		Male.	Female.	TOTAL.
1864 ..	Bombay City ...	28098	21103	49201
1872 ...	Bombay City ...	23111	20980	44091
	Bombay Presidency (including Indian States, Sindh and Aden).	11890	1923	23813
	Other Parts of India :—			
	Baroda State ...	3334	4177	7511
	Mhow Cantonment ...	142	142	284
	Total of Census in 1872 ...	38477	37222	75699
1881 ...	Bombay City ...	25315	23282	48597
	Bombay Presidency (including Indian States, Sindh and Aden).	12718	12894	25612
	Total of Census in 1881 ...	38023	36176	74209
1891 ...	Bombay City ...	24705	22753	47458
	Bombay Presidency (including Indian States, Sindh and Aden).	14580	14736	29316
	Total of Census in 1891 ...	39285	37489	76774
1901 ...	Bombay City ...	24277	21954	46231
	Bombay Presidency (including Indian States, Sindh and Aden).	16223	16426	32649
	Other Parts of India ...	7741	7657	15398
	Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, China, and Japan ...	208	53	261
	Total of Census in 1901 ...	48449	46090	94539
1911 ...	Bombay City ...	26, 764	24, 167	50, 931
	Bombay Presidency (including Sindh and Aden) ...	41, 470	39, 510	80, 980
	Other parts of India ...	2, 876	1999	4875
	Burma ...	195	105	300
	Indian States and Agencies ...	6, 582	7, 359	13, 941
	Ceylon ...	108	75	183
	China ...	132	23	155
	Japan ...	20	4	24
	Straits Settlements ...	12	2	14
	Total of Census in 1911 ...	51,375	49,073	100,448

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J

Shewing Population of Parsi Males and Females in the several cities, towns, etc. of each of the Provinces and States of India, and in Burma, Ceylon, Japan, China and the Straits Settlements: according to Census of

1911.

[Table placed here by me.—M.M.M.]

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Ajmer Merwara:			
Ajmere ...	94	87	181
Kekri ...	1	...	1
Nasirabad ...	32	31	63
Beawar ...	6	10	16
Baluchistan:			
Quetta ...	75	59	134
Loralai ...	1	...	1
Sibi ...	14	13	27
Bengal Presidency:			
Serampore ...	1	...	1
Howra ...	14	13	27
Bàlee ...	9	...	9
Calcutta ...	293	174	467
Cossipore-Chitpore.	1	...	1
Garden Reach ...	1	...	1
Budge-budge ...	4	...	4
Titadhar ...	2	7	9
Garulia ...	5	4	9
Ràngàghat ...	2	...	2
Khoolna ...	1	...	1
Jalpaigoori ...	2	1	3
Dàrjeeling ...	16	5	21
Kerseong ...	2	...	2
Dàccà ...	1	...	2
Nàràyanganj ...	1	...	1
Chitagong ...	5	...	5
Behar and Orrisa:			
Mokammeh ...	2	...	2
Muzaffarpur ...	5	6	11
Lalganj ...	2	0	2
Chaibassa ...	5	...	5
Sanchi ...	1	2	3

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bombay Presidency:			
Bombay City. ...	27,764	24,167	50,931
Ahmedàbàd Zilla ...	*856*	*783*	*1639*
Ahmedàbàd ...	744	682	1426
Dhandhookà ...	2	2	4
Dholera ...	2	1	3
Dholkà ...	3	4	7
Goghà ...	5	11	16
Modàsà ...	6	3	9
Pràntij ...	1	...	1
Ràmpore ...	2	3	5
Viramgàm ...	20	16	36
Broach Zillà ...	*1229*	*1541*	*2770*
Ankleshwar ...	118	157	275
Broach (Bharooch)..	852	1096	1948
Jambusar ...	5	5	10
Khairà Zillà ...	*49*	*32*	*81*
Anand ...	3	2	5
Dàkòre ...	3	2	5
Khaira (town) ...	5	2	7
Mahdhà ...	1	...	1
Mehmudabad ...	1	3	1
Nadiad ...	21	21	42
Umreth ...	2	...	2
Panch Mahal ...	*115*	89	204
Dohad ...	71	7	78
Godhrà ...	76	59	145
Zalod ...	1	...	1
Kalol ...	1	...	1
Surat Zillà ...	*5364*	*6419*	*11,783*
Bàrdoli ...	21	24	45
Balsàr ...	550	629	1179
Pardi ...	17	27	44
Ránder ...	73	83	156

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J (*Contd.*)

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bombay Presidency—(*Contd.*)				**Bombay Presidency—(*Contd.*)**			
Thànà Zillá ...	*2488*	*2617*	*5105*	Nandgáon ...	2	...	2
Bàndrà ...	644	674	1318	Nàsik (town) ...	35	19	54
Basseìn (Vasài) ...	13	12	25	Yevlà ...	3	2	5
Bhivandi ...	9	12	21				
Kaliàn ...	76	93	169	*Poona Zilla* ...	*1394*	*1301*	*2695*
Coorla ...	113	58	171	Jijuri ...	3	3	6
Kelvà-Màhim ...	10	5	15	Kirkes ...	40	33	73
Thanà (town) ...	225	153	378	Lanaula Khandàlà	133	164	297
Ahmednagar Zillà ..	*112*	*110*	*222*				
Ahmednagar (town)	98	101	199	Poonà ...	1129	1029	2158
				Pûrandhar ...	2	1	3
				Talègàon ...	3	2	5
West Khàndesh Zillà ...	*211*	*160*	*371*	*Satara Zilla* ...	122	87	209
Amalner ...	20	15	35	Malcolmpeit ...	70	34	104
Asoda ...	1	...	1	Màhàbleshvar Hills:			
Bhosàwal ...	105	111	216	Panchgani ...	18	24	42
Bodvad ...	11	1	12	Wai ...	2	...	2
Chàlisgàon ...	2	...	2	Satàrà ...	24	25	49
Chopda ...	2	1	3				
Dharangaon ...	1	...	1	*Sholapore Zilla* ...	181	153	334
Erandole ...	1	...	1	Bàrsi ...	11	4	15
Faijàpur ...	4	4	8	Pandharpúr ...	6	1	7
Jalgàon ...	27	7	34	Sholapore (Town)...	152	139	291
Jàmnèr ...	3	1	4				
Nagar-devlà ...	1	...	1	*Belgaum Zilla* ...	93	66	159
Nasiràbàd ...	1	3	4	Athni ...	4	1	5
Pàchorá ...	6	...	6	Belgaum (Town) ...	76	63	139
Pàrolà ...	...	1	1	Soundatti ...	3	...	3
Ràver ...	2	...	2				
Shendoorni ...	1	...	1	*Bijapur Zilla* ...	16	12	28
Varangàon ...	5	3	8	Bagalkot ...	3	1	4
Yàval ...	1	...	1	Bijapur (Town) ...	10	11	21
East Khandesh Zillà ...	*163*	*70*	*233*	*Dharwar Zilla* ...	122	96	218
				Dharwar (Town) ...	15	14	29
Betvad ...	3	...	3	Gadag ...	20	18	38
Dhulià ...	40	23	63	Hûbli ...	73	60	133
Nandarbàr ...	18	14	32	Rôn ...	1	...	1
Shàhàdá ...	4	1	5				
Shirpûr ...	1	...	1	*Canara Zilla* ...	9	5	14
Sindkhev ...	3	1	4	Halyàl ...	1	...	1
Songir ...	1	...	1	Honàvàr ...	1	1	2
Talodà ...	5	2	7	Kàrwàr ...	3	3	9
Nasik Zilla ...	*459*	*381*	*840*	*Kolaba Zilla* ...	*163*	*140*	*303*
Deolàli ...	16	22	38	Alibàg ...	6	2	8
Igatpûri ...	129	140	269	Panvèl ...	7	2	9
Manmàd ...	36	26	62	Pein ...	3	1	4

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J—(*Contd.*)

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bombay Presidency.—(*Concld.*)			
Rohà ...	8	3	11
Uran ...	56	49	105
Ratnagiri Zilla ...	*33*	*13*	*46*
Chiplun ...	1	...	1
Malvan ...	4	...	4
Ràjàpur ...	1	...	1
Ratnagiri (Town) ...	7	3	10
Vingurla ...	2	1	3
Sindh-Hyderabad Zilla ...	*54*	*42*	*96*
Hyderàbàd ...	43	37	80
Tando-adam ...	1	...	1
Karachi Zilla ...	*1146*	*1056*	*2202*
Karachi (city) ...	981	931	1912
„ (Cantonment).	140	113	253
Kotri ...	6	7	13
Thatta ...	3	3	6
Larkana Zilla ...	*5*	*1*	*6*
Larkana (town) ...	1	...	1
Sakkar Zilla ...	*46*	*50*	*96*
Ghotki ...	1	2	3
Shikarkpur ...	1	1	2
Sakkar (town) ...	35	39	74
Thar-parker Zilla...	*5*	*1*	*6*
Mirpur-khas ...	3	1	4
Upper Sindh Frontier Zilla ...	*3*	*2*	*5*
Jacobabad ...	3	2	5
Aden ...	*268*	*116*	*384*
Aden (town) ...	263	114	377
Perim (Island) ...	4	2	6
Sheikh Usman ...	1	...	1
Indian States and Agencies in the Bombay Presidency:			
Baroda State:			
Baroda (city) ...	319	242	561
„ (Cantonment).	85	62	147

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Indian States and Agencies in the Bombay Presidency—(*Contd.*)			
Petlad ...	1	...	1
Dabhoi ...	21	5	26
Padra ...	1	4	5
Sinor ...	2	4	6
Sankheda ...	3	...	3
Bahadarpur ...	4	4	8
Karjan ...	12	3	15
Sidhpur ...	10	11	21
Vadnagar ...	1	...	1
Mehsand ...	16	7	23
Umbha ...	5	3	8
Kheralu ...	1	...	1
Vijapur ...	4	2	6
Kalol ...	1	...	1
Dehgam ...	5	2	7
Naosari ...	1630	2591	4221
Gandevi ...	182	279	461
Bilimora ...	332	480	812
Vyara ...	47	58	105
Kathor ...	3	1	4
Songhad ...	13	20	33
Amreli ...	5	3	8
Dwarka ...	3	10	13
Kodinar ...	2	...	2
Damnagar ...	4	1	5
Cutch:			
Anjar ...	1	3	4
Bhooj ...	34	33	67
Mandvi ...	5	3	8
Mundhra ...	1	...	1
Kathiawad States...	*474*	*450*	*924*
Bantva ...	1	...	1
Bhaunagar (town)...	166	163	329
Botad ...	2	1	3
Dhoraji ...	3	...	3
Dhrangdhra ..	7	5	12
Gondal ...	4	3	7
Jafrabad ...	3	6	9
Jamnagar ...	35	43	78
Jetpur ...	5	7	12
Junagadh ...	18	10	28
Kundla ...	3	1	4
Lilia ...	1	...	1
Limbdi ...	5	4	9
Mahuva ...	10	14	24
Mangrol ...	3	2	5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J—*(Contd.)*

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Indian States and Agencies in the Bombay Presidency—(*Contd.*)			
Muli ...	...	1	1
Palitana ...	4	4	8
Porebander ...	32	23	55
Rajkot (town) ...	3	3	6
,, (Civil station) ...	78	98	176
Sadder Savapadar.	1	...	1
Sayla ...	1	...	1
Shibor ...	1	...	1
Talaja ...	1	...	1
Oona ...	1	...	1
Upleta ...	1	...	1
Vala ...	3	1	4
Verawal ...	2	4	6
Wadhwan (city) ...	8	4	12
,, (Civil station) ...	16	17	33
Vanthali ...	1	...	1
Vankaner ...	4	2	6
Khambat ...	*44*	*77*	*121*
Mahikantha Agency ...	*7*	*5*	*12*
Idar ...	1	...	1
Sadra ...	1	1	2
Palanpur Agency ...	*84*	*89*	*173*
Deesa ...	52	63	115
Palanpur (town) ...	7	8	15
Radhanpur ...	5	3	8
Rewa Kantha Agency ...	*247*	*229*	*476*
Chhota Udeypur ...	6	7	13
Mandod ...	33	28	61
Surat Agency ...	*342*	*289*	*631*
Bansda (town) ...	12	5	17
Konkan States ...	*36*	*29*	*65*
Javhar ...	7	12	19
Savantvadi ...	1	...	1
Deccan States ...	*33*	*31*	*64*
Akalkot ...	3	3	6
Kolahpur State ...	*15*	*6*	*21*
Gadhigalaj ...	1	...	1
Kolahpur (town) ...	12	6	18
Indian States and Agencies in the Bombay Presidency—(*Concld.*)			
Southern Mahatta Jagirs ...	*10*	*8*	*18*
Budgaon ...	1	...	1
Miraj ...	5	4	9
Madhol ...	1	1	2
Ramdoorg ...	3	3	6
Burma.			
Rangoon ...	121	75	196
Mandalay ...	26	...	26
Central Provinces and the Berars.			
Sagar ...	3	...	3
Etava ...	50	32	82
Damoh ...	9	3	12
Jubbalpore ...	65	51	116
Murvara ...	5	6	11
Sihora ...	4	2	6
Sovni ..	3	5	8
Hoshangabad ...	3	...	3
Itarsi ...	3	...	3
Harda ...	41	30	71
Sohagpur ...	3	...	3
Khandwa ..	47	33	80
Burhanpur ...	5	1	6
Badnur ...	3	...	3
Wardha ...	24	12	36
Pulgaon ...	...	4	4
Nagpur ...	321	226	547
Kamptee ...	11	4	15
Katol ...	1	...	1
Narkher ...	1	...	1
Chanda ...	4	6	10
Varora ...	1	...	1
Bhandara ...	4	1	5
Gondia ...	2	...	2
Balaghat ...	1	2	3
Raepur ...	27	17	44
Dhamtari ...	1	...	1
Bilaspur ...	4	...	4
Umraoti (town) ...	14	12	26
Umraoti (Camp) ...	7	11	18
Badnera ...	125	85	210
Nerpinglai ...	...	1	1
Dattapur ...	4	...	4

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TABLE J—(*Contd.*)

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Central Provinces and the Berars —(*Contd.*)			
Paratvara ...	3	...	3
Chandurbazar ...	3	...	3
Akola ...	65	29	94
Karanja ...	8	...	8
Akot ...	5	...	5
Basim ...	3	2	5
Balapur ...	5	1	6
Moortijapur ...	8	6	14
Buldana ...	2	...	2
Shegam ...	19	5	24
Khamgaon ...	15	15	30
Jalgaon ..	1	1	2
Nandura ...	3	3	6
Chikhli ...	...	..	1
Yavatmal ...	4	4	8
Darva ...	1	...	1
Indian States of Central Provinces:			
Rajnandgaon ...	10	7	17
Doongargadh ...	5	...	5
Coorg.			
Merkara ...	14	15	29
Gonikopal ...	2	3	5
Madras.			
Zillas of:			
Vizagapatam ...	9	11	20
Godavry ...	11	6	17
Kistna ...	13	12	25
Gantoor ...	17	5	22
Nellore ...	8	4	12
Karnool ...	4	3	7
Bellary ...	3	...	3
Anantapur ...	12	10	22
Madras (city) ...	66	80	146
Chingleput ...	10	5	15
Chitur ...	1	...	1
Salem ...	1	1	2
Coimbatore ...	1	...	1
South Arcot ...	1	...	1
Trichinopoly ...	21	...	21
Madura ...	4	...	4
Ramnad ...	2	3	5
Tinnevelly ...	2	2	4
Nilghiris ...	21	52	73

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Madras—(*Contd.*)			
Malabar Coast towns ...	35	34	69
South Canara ...	7	11	18
Indian States (Madras)			
Banganpale ...	4	...	4
Cochin ...	3	2	5
Northern Frontiers			
Peshawar ...	40	2	42
Navshera ...	...	1	1
Punjab.			
Hissar ...	3	...	3
Bhiwani ...	1	1	2
Sirsa ...	3	2	5
Ferozpur (jirka) ...	2	...	2
Palval ...	3	3	6
Rewari ...	1	...	1
Delhi ...	44	30	74
Umballa ...	22	9	31
Rupar ..	1	1	2
Simla ...	10	6	16
Dharamtola ...	2	...	2
Jallandar ...	11	7	18
Ferozpur ...	11	5	16
Fazilka ...	2	...	2
Lahore ...	121	77	198
Kasur ...	2	1	3
Amritsar ...	26	22	48
Pathankote ...	2	2	4
Dalhousie ...	3	4	7
Sialkote ...	13	4	17
Vazirabad ...	1	...	1
Sargodha ...	1	...	1
Jehlum ...	2	1	3
Rawalpindi ...	31	27	58
Campellpur ...	6	5	11
Montgomery ...	1	2	3
Mooltan ...	30	28	58
Lia ...	1	3	4
Indian States of the Punjab.			
Kapurthala ...	2	1	3
Pattiala ...	10	3	13
Bhattinda ...	5	3	8

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J—(*Contd.*)

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
United Provinces.				**Central India Agency—(*Contd.*)**			
Dehra ...	...	1	1	Morar ...	1	...	1
Sahranpur ...	4	...	4	Sipri ...	4	1	5
Hardwar ...	2	...	2	Barnagar ...	2	1	3
Muzaffarnagar ...	2	2	4	Kachrod ...	1	...	1
Meerut ...	4	5	9	Neemuch (Cantonment) ...	66	81	147
Khurja ...	3	2	5	Neemuch (Town) ...	9	5	14
Koil ...	2	...	2	Indore ...	14	7	21
Kossi ...	6	12	18	Mhow ...	209	218	427
Agra ...	25	11	36	Khargam ...	3	...	3
Ferozabad ...	7	4	11	Sanavad ...	3	...	3
Etava ...	3	1	4	Bhopal ...	36	28	64
Kasganj ...	1	...	1	Sihor ...	4	1	5
Barreily ...	6	7	13	Ichhavar ...	1	...	1
Najibabad ...	1	...	1	Dhar ...	4	2	6
Moradabad ...	8	7	15	Devas ...	2	...	2
Chandausi ...	7	1	8	Jaora ...	13	11	24
Shahajanpur ...	3	1	4	Rutlam ...	32	27	59
Cawpore ...	37	22	59	Naogaon (Cant.) ...	7	5	12
Cawnpore (Cantonment) ...	1	...	1	Sitaman ...	2	1	3
Allahabad ...	59	27	86	Sailana ...	1	...	1
Jhansi ...	119	182	301	Beawar ...	3	2	5
„ (Cantonment) ...	3	3	6	Barwani ...	7	4	11
Orai ...	2	2	4				
Benares ...	2	2	4				
Mirzapur ...	2	1	3	**Hyderabad (Deccan) State.**			
Lucknow ...	98	62	160				
„ (Cantonment) ...	3	5	8	Hyderabad (city) ...	443	365	808
Fyzabad ...	3	4	7	Atraf-i-bald ...	42	43	85
Meerut (Cantonment) ...	9	6	15	Varangal ...	50	51	101
Harduvaganj ...	6	6	12	Karimnagar ...	1	1	2
Agra (Cantonment).	12	11	23	Adilabad ...	4	1	5
Fatehpur-Sikri ...	1	...	1	Medak ...	7	3	10
Avaria ...	1	1	2	Nizam-abad ...	2	7	9
Bareily (Cantonment) ...	8	...	8	Nalgonda ...	5	8	13
Karvitaravan ...	3	2	5	Aurangabad ...	118	107	225
Gorakpur ...	...	2	2	Bhir ...	5	...	5
Ranikhet (Cantonment) ...	3	1	4	Nander ...	24	16	40
Bargambazar ...	5	2	7	Parbhani ...	28	44	72
				Goolburga ...	51	40	91
Central India Agency.				Osman-abad ...	18	4	22
				Raechur ...	24	17	41
Gowaliar (Laskar).	38	37	75	**Cashmere.**			
Ujjein ...	13	3	16	Jammu ...	2	3	5
Mansore ...	4	7	11	Shrinagar ...	20	6	26

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

TABLE J—(*Concld.*)

Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Names.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Mysore State.				**Sikim.**			
Kolar ...	1	...	1	Gangtok ...	1	...	1
Mysore (city) ...	16	15	31				
Hunsur ...	1	...	1	**Ceylon.**			
Periapatan ...	1	1	2				
Devnageri ...	2	...	2	Colombo ...	89	66	155
Harihar ...	1	...	1	,, District ...	5	...	5
Arsikeri ...	3	3	6	Kaltura ...	1	...	1
Bangalore ...	29	17	46	Kandy ...	6	6	12
				Matara ...	1	...	1
Rajputana Agency.				Coonegla District ...	4	3	7
Alwar ...	2	1	3				
Banswara ...	4	...	4	**China.** ...	132	23	155
Bharatpore ...	3	4	7	Hongkong ...	68	15	83
Bikanir ...	1	3	4	Shanghai ...	29	5	34
Bundi ...	4	2	6	Canton ...	15	1	16
Nenva ...	2	...	2	Macau ...	1	...	1
Dholpur ...	3	3	6	Hankau ...	6	1	7
Jeypore ...	10	9	19	Foochau ...	4	...	4
Gangapur ...	1	...	1	Amoy ...	1	...	1
Hindvan ...	1	1	2	Tinsin ...	5	1	6
Savai-madhopur ...	1	...	1	Niuchong ...	1	...	1
Sikar ...	2	2	4	Pekin ...	2	...	2
Patan ...	...	1	1				
Baran ...	3	3	6	**Japan.** ...	20	4	24
Kishenghad ...	4	3	7	Yokohama ...	10	3	13
Jodhpur ...	38	28	66	Kobi ...	7	1	8
Udeypur ...	7	8	15	Nagoy ...	1	...	1
Chittore ...	2	...	2	Yokaska ...	1	...	1
Partabghad ...	4	1	5	Tokio ...	1	...	1
Shahpura ...	2	...	2				
Abu Road ...	50	39	89	**Straits Settlements**	12	2	14
Mount Abu (Bazar).	13	22	35	Singapore ...	9	...	9
,, (Civil Station.)	11	7	18	Penang ...	3	2	5
Sirohi ...	1	1	2				

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PRESS OPINIONS.

The Times of India, (Bombay), of May 28th, 1898, says of "Les Parsis":—

A French Book about the Parsees.

In commenting upon the support given by different Governments to oriental studies, Burton unfavourably compares the apathy and indifference shown by Great Britain with the sympathy and cordial encouragement given by democratic France, where special schools have been established for the study of oriental literature, and serial publications on oriental subjects are brought out under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction. One of these serials, called after the famous *savant*, Emile Guimet, claims the interest of Bombay readers in general and of Parsees in particular. Two whole volumes in the series are devoted to the history of the Parsees, including their manners, customs, religion and present position. One volume dealing in detail with their civil life has just been published, and another is shortly promised, which will take up the religious life of the community. Since Anquetil du Perron brought the sacred books of the Parsees from Surat, many Avesta scholars have given to the world their expositions and translations of the Parsee scriptures. But with the exception of Anquetil, and partially of Haug and Darmesteter, few have cared to give a systematic account of the manners and customs of these faithful followers of one of the noblest faiths of antiquity. Anquetil was peculiarly fitted for this task, since during the three years he passed at Surat he had the opportunity of witnessing their ceremonies and consulting the Rewayets or letters exchanged between the Indian Parsees and their co-religionists of Iran on many moot points of ceremonial and doctrine. It was nearly a century after Anquetil that the famous Persian scholar, Briggs, brought out "The Parsees, or Modern Zoroastrians," as a sort of counterblast to Dr. Wilson's account of the Parsees in that misssionary's controversial work on the Parsee religion. Briggs' book was published in 1852, and six years later a young Parsee began his brilliant career with a work on "The Parsees, their History,

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Manners, Customs, and Religion." After the lapse of a quarter of a century, a second edition of the work was brought out, and was accepted on all hands as an authoritative account of the Parsees by one of their own race. But Mr. Dosabhai Framji's work, valuable as it is, is naturally confined to the English-speaking world, and the Parsees may, therefore, congratulate themselves that a history of their community should appear in a language of such extensive currency as French. And this time it is not one of themselves, but a French lady who is led by scientific interest in the subject and personal sympathy with the community, laboriously to put together as lucid and interesting a history as they could well desire. The author of *Les Parsis* (Paris, Ernest Leroux) is Mlle. D. Menant, and the history is appropriately inscribed to J. Menant, her venerable father, who more than fifty years ago published a monograph on the great prophet of the Parsees.

The author has set herself to her task in the most thoroughgoing spirit. That large store-house of information, the *Parsi Prakash*, has, of course, been consulted at almost every step. But besides this and the late Mr. Vacha's *Mumbai-no-bahar* several other sources of information have been made use of. These include accounts of travellers, from the Arabian Edrissi and the Christian friar Jordanus, down to Monier Williams, biographical sketches of famous Parsees, such as the late Framjee Kavasjee, the first Sir Jamshedjee, the late Furdunjee Murzbanjee, histories of Parsee families like the Vikajees, special histories of the Punchayet, papers and pamphlets on the Nowjot ceremony, Parsee and Guzerati nuptial songs, marriage customs of the Irani Parsees, to say nothing of Mr. N. M. Sethna's brochure on female education and Mr. Tata's on Egyptian cotton. Ignorant of Guzerati, the author, but for the cordial collaboration of Mr. M. M. Murzban, Barrister-at-Law, and Ervad J. J. Mody, would have found it very difficult successfully to complete the work which is really, to borrow her words, *une œuvrede bonne foi.* With the help of an easy, fluent, and unpretentious style, the reader is taken through the early history, the manners and customs, the internal government and the educational, commercial, literary, and political activity of the community. In the chapter on the earlier history we find all the more interesting episodes, such as the half legendary Ardeshir and his Parsees of Sanjan opposing the forces of Alauddin's general,

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and the faithful survivors or their descendants taking the sacred fire from Sanjan to Barhot, from Barhot to Bansda, and thence to Naosari. The chapter is, however, very short, and perhaps rightly so, since the earlier history of the Indian Parsees still awaits its Niebuhr to be shorn of its legends and shown in its true aspect. Next, the author reviews the different occupations of the Parsees, waxes enthusiastic over the comparative absence of beggars and the poor unfortunates, the victims of man's vice; quotes Mendelso's statement that the Parsees of his time used to condemn these two to death, explains the origin of the Kadami and the Shenshai sects, gives instances of the strained relations that once existed between them, draws a picture of the Parsee young lady of old with her *choli* (low bodice) and her *nath* (nose-ring) and a *mathabana* jealously concealing the glory of her head, and contrasts her with her anglicised sister, the Parsee girl of the period. To the student of folk-lore, however, the chapters that follow are more interesting, dealing as they do with the three great events of man's life—birth, marriage, and death. A scientifically accurate description of the rites and ceremonies, social and religious, associated with these, and a satisfactory *rationale* of the practices either in the common principles of human nature or in the peculiar circumstances of the people themselves, would form no small contribution to the science of folk-lore. What Dubois has done for the Hindus and the translator of the Quanoon-i-Islam for the Mahomedans, our author does here for the Parsees; but it must be remembered that Dubois was pretty nearly a pioneer in the field, whereas his talented countrywoman has had many able predecessors. It would hardly interest our readers to follow Mlle. Menant through all the different customs, the casting of the horoscope, the initiation of the child later on into Zoroastrianism, the many preliminaries to marriage—the agency of the wily match-maker or the more efficacious agency of a coat and tie, after the newest pattern, the fixing of the dowry, the haggling between the greedy bridegroom and the close-fisted father-in-law, the *jama* and *pichori*, the enmeshing of the happy bride and bridegroom in the mystic sevenfold round of raw twist, the Ashirwad ceremony making them man and wife—or finally the ceremonies attending a Parsee's death, when he is taken to his final home, the grim tower with its hideous coping of vultures. To

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turn next to the internal government of the community, we are told how the Parsees used to manage their affairs in the palmy days of the Punchayet, when it played the part of Cato to perfection, when it was a rigid censor of morals, when it put its foot down on bigamy, when it kept the womenfolk under strict watch and ward, and consigned the adventurous Parsee maiden found airing herself on the Esplanade after six in the evening to the tender mercies of the professional corpse-bearer. The Punchayet soon, however, lost its hold on the community when its men of light and leading themselves connived at public abuses. It tried to regain its power, but the spirit of the times was against it, and at present though it shows signs of renewed vigour under its able secretary, it is but the administrator of the vast funds vested in it for the help of the Parsee poor. The last two chapters the author devotes to the present condition of the Parsees, and by characteristic sketches of the more prominent Parsees of the past and the present illustrates the various spheres of activity in which the Parsees have been foremost, whether commercial, social, political, or literary. While not failing to award a due meed of praise to the merchant princes, the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhais, the Banajees, the Dadiseths, the Vikajees and others, the author is disposed to lay greater stress on the influence of the men who were the first products of Western education. It was the Board of Education, with Sir Erskine Perry at its head and with Professor Patton in charge of its central institution, the Elphinstone, that changed the whilom mercantile race into one foremost in all that makes for progress. The band of young enthusiasts, Naorojee Furdoonjee, S. S. Bangalee, Dadabhai Naorojee, and others, the firstfruits of Western culture, boldly entered the lists and threw down the gauntlet to all who held by the old order of things. They started associations and journals which did signal service to the cause of social and religious reform. They ridiculed absurd social prejudices out of existence, introduced female education, purged religion of its superstitious practices, and after years of labour extorted from an unwilling Government a special Marriage and Intestate Act for the Parsees. But it is not only the deeds of these doughty reformers that find a place in the work; almost every Parsee who has done good work for his time and generation is given a niche—if we may so put it—in this temple of fame. Here are to

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be found the merchant princes and philanthropists, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhai. Sir Cowasjee Jehangier and Sir Dinshaw Petit; pioneers of new industries, Nanabhai Kavasjee Davar and Mr. Jamshedjee Tata; that true Shettia of the community, the late Framjee Kavasjee; founders of native journalism, the late learned scholar Furdoonjee Murzbanjee and his rather notorious disciple Naoroji Chandaru; the founder of the first English school for native girls, the late Maneckjee Khurshedjee; the first Parsee naval architect, Lavji Wadia; the poet, reformer, and man of letters, Mr. Malabari; the politician and man of affairs, Mr. P. M. Mehta, and many others.

These are the lines on which the work is written. We have nothing but praise for the conscientious care and accuracy of the writer, for the sympathy unconsciously shown on every page for members of an alien race. The author, however, has often too modestly chosen to be the chronicler rather than the historian. We seek in vain for light on the many grave problems that confront the community. She has devoted many pages to the history of female education, but the only contribution she makes to the discussion of the question in its bearing on the welfare of the community is that with the advance of time Parsee young men will need educated young ladies as companions in life. In treating of the political activity of the community, the author is rather inclined to be reticent as to the position which the Parsees should take up towards the British Raj, under whose protection they have prospered so greatly. There seems, again, to be no organic unity in the treatment of the theme; the division of the history into such chapters as "early history," "education," "commerce, literature and politics" strikes one as mechanical. The work, moreover, written as it is by a foreigner—a very sympathetic foreigner, no doubt, but a foreigner all the same—cannot bring vividly before the reader the various types in the community. With all the varied information at his command the foreign reader cannot mentally construct a Parsee; even if he can, the figure will be a wooden figure, wanting in life and animation. A Parsee Max O'Rell is needed to reveal to the foreigner such types as the old Parsee Shettia, the Parsee "grande dame" who visits Europe as regularly as her humbler sister visits Udwada or Naosari; the anglicised Parsee young lady who has taken to biking, and who seems disposed to play the rôle of the New or rather the Newest

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Woman; the Parsee Mobed combining the dual function of priest and match-maker, and scores of others which would suggest themselves to a Parsee. Mr. Malabari did this years ago in his famous *Guzerat and Guzeratis*: can he not give us a revised edition, brought up to date? Lastly, the tone of *Les Parsis* is a little too flattering. One tires of reading that the Parsees are this and the Parsees are that, as the Athenians were tired of hearing Aristides being called just in season and out of season. One is at times tempted to invoke the *advocatus diaboli* to show us the other side of the picture.

Note:—For Press opinions on the *English* edition of *Les Parsis*, see end of Vol. II.

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